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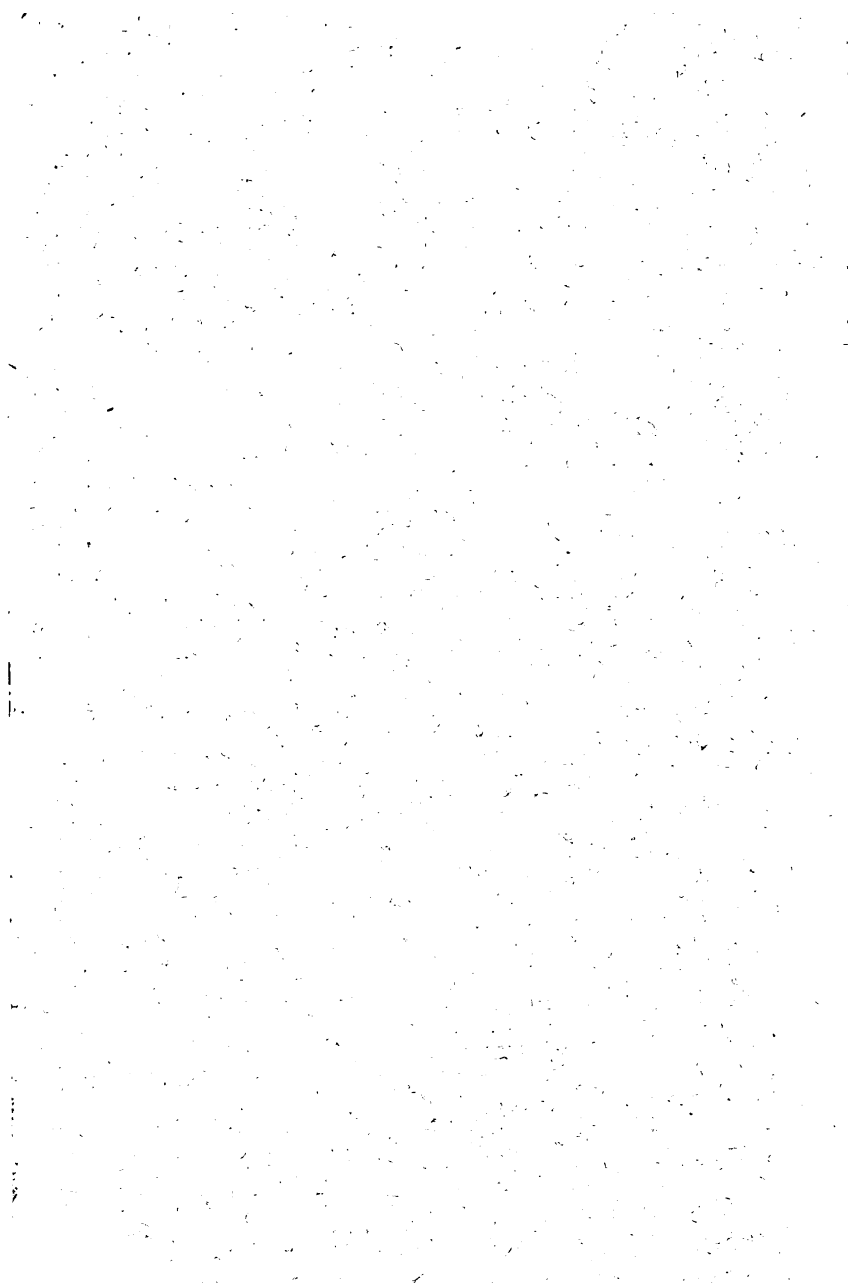
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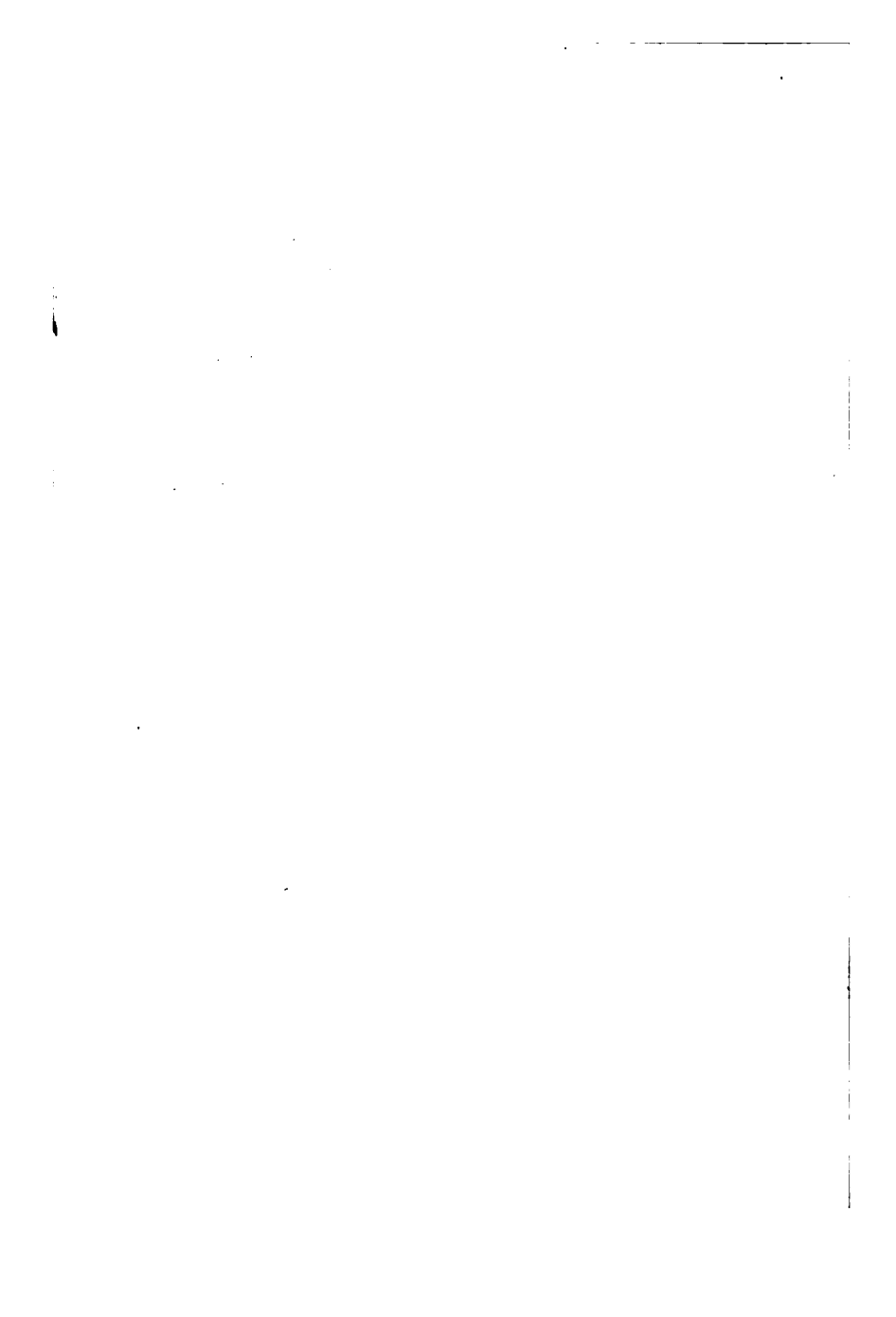
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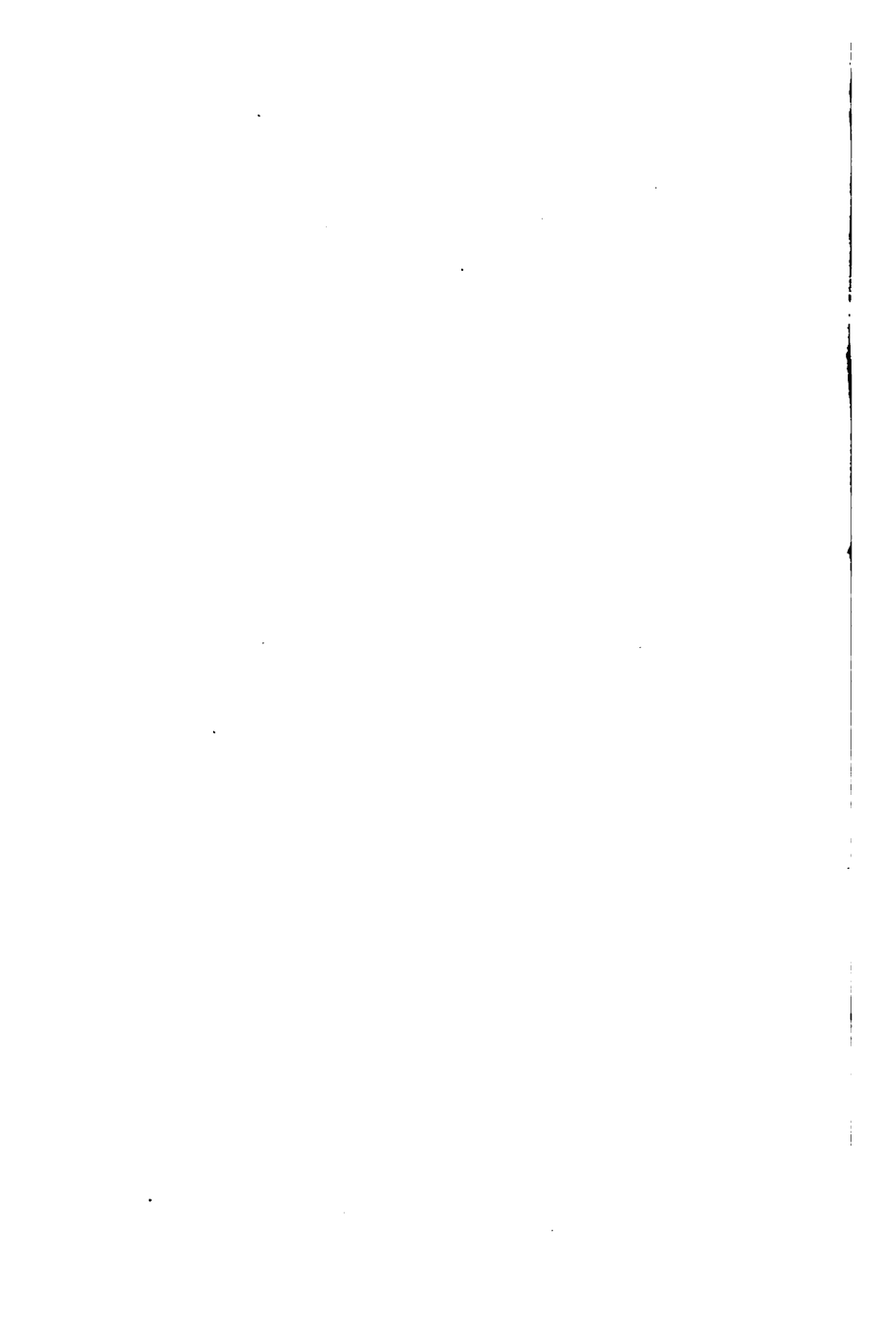
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OF
DEMOSTHENES.

WITH ENGLISH NOTES,

BY THE

REV. ARTHUR HOLMES, M. A.,
SENIOR FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND PREACHER AT THE
CHAPEL ROYAL, WHITEHALL.

Revised Edition,

BY W. S. TYLER,
WILLISTON PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN AMHERST COLLEGE.

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PREFACE.

THE text of this edition is almost an exact reprint of that in the *Catena Classicorum*, edited by Rev. Arthur Holmes of Cambridge, and Rev. Charles Bigg of Oxford. In revising the Notes of that edition, at the request of the publisher, it has been my single aim to produce, as nearly as possible within the same limits, a text-book of the De Corona adapted to meet the wants of students in our American colleges. With this end in view, I have omitted not a few of the English editor's superabundant citations from Greek authors, and whatever else in his Notes seemed to me to be superfluous or sure to be neglected by even the better scholars in a college class, and have filled the place with such grammatical references, exegetical annotations, and exact yet idiomatic translations of difficult passages, as the experience of many years in teaching Demosthenes has shown to be best calculated to lead students to a right method of studying the great Athenian orator.

When the English editor has fallen into manifest errors and misapprehensions, I have not hesitated to correct them, or to supersede his Notes by my own or those of other editors. In this revision I have had constantly before me the editions of Reiske, Schäfer, Dindorf, Dissen, Bremi, Westermann, Drake, Whiston, and others, and have derived from them many useful hints and suggestions. The Notes of

Whiston are so scholarly and judicious, and his renderings so just and happy, that I have adopted them pretty freely. If in any instance I have failed to give due credit for borrowed materials, the failure has been unintentional.

To the Introduction of the English edition, which is reprinted entire as a concise statement of the history of the De Corona, I have added an Analysis of the Argument, which, it is hoped, will aid the student in understanding the skilful arrangement of the orator and possessing himself of his masterly reasoning. So far from sympathizing with the depreciatory remarks which occur too frequently in the English edition, and which I have taken the liberty to abridge, I scarcely fall below Lord Brougham in my admiration of this matchless and almost faultless piece of rhetoric; and I could wish that not only students of Greek, but orators and students of oratory, would study and repeat the oration as his Lordship did, and as he advised the youthful Macaulay to do, so as "to enter into the spirit of the speech, thoroughly know the positions of the parties, follow each turn of the argument, and make the absolutely perfect and most chaste and severe composition familiar to his mind." And I venture to urge upon teachers and pupils such a repeated reading and reading aloud of the oration, as so inspired the Leyden Greek Professor Wytttenbach in his youth, that he fancied himself "to be Demosthenes standing before the assembly, delivering the oration, and exhorting the Athenians to emulate the bravery and glory of their ancestors," and thus gave him the first genuine impulse to an enthusiastic study of the language and literature of the Greeks.

W. S. TYLER.

AMHERST COLLEGE, January 1, 1874.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE Speech on the Crown was made in defence of an accusation for *παράνομα*, which legal term we may paraphrase as a "Breach of the Constitution." Æschines had laid the charge and conducted the accusation. The accused was Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes, an Athenian citizen belonging to the deme Anaphlystus. The ground of the action was as follows: Ctesiphon had proposed a decree, that, according to common Athenian usage, the state should bestow a crown of gold on Demosthenes, as one who had proved himself to be a public benefactor, not merely by his general policy, but also by his special liberality on two recent occasions. As member of the Fortifications Commission, appointed just after Chæroneæ, Demosthenes gave to the Building Fund no less a donation than three talents. At the same time, as trustee to the fund for theatrical and similar expenses, he gave to that fund a hundred minas as a voluntary contribution. These two instances seemed to supply an immediate opportunity for recognizing his general as well as his special merits. The decree further proposed expressly, that proclamation of this grant of honor should be made in the theatre of Athens, at the time of the Great Dionysia, when the new tragedies were coming on; that

is, at a time and place where crowds of strangers, as well as citizens, were certain to be assembled. Thus the honor conferred by the state would be at once of the most public as well as the most complimentary kind.

We cannot but think the proposal of this decree had further objects than merely to honor the orator. We may well suppose it included a strong political move on the side of the Constitutional party, who had always opposed and (so far as they could) resisted the power of Macedon. To laud Demosthenes and his policy was really to censure Philip; nor was it only to censure Philip, but also to stigmatize the whole Macedonian party, whose numbers were very strong in the Public Assembly of Athens, of which party Æschines may be called the political leader. Ctesiphon, it is to be noticed, was quite an unknown man. And yet his name is attached to this important decree. How can this be explained except by the supposition that he was put forward by other men of greater power and distinction? The Constitutional party, in fact, were throwing down a challenge to their opponents; and their action would certainly lead to a public trial and contest. Now the fact that Ctesiphon was an unknown and insignificant person would be useful to them in two ways for fighting their battle of politics. First, it would look as if the merits of Philip's chief antagonist were such as to call forth the most disinterested praises, uttered by an humble voice in the ranks with honest, untaught enthusiasm. Next, in attacking this decree, the prosecutor could get no hold on the character of its proposer. He would not be able to denounce the decree as proposed by a well-known demagogue, by a man of notorious character, whose very advocacy was enough to condemn his cause.

At the actual date of Ctesiphon's measure, the numbers

of the Macedonian party were probably weak in the Council, however strong they may have been in the body of the Assembly. The decree was passed by the Council, so far as we know, without opposition. It was then deposited among the public records, to await its confirmation by the vote of the next Assembly. At this stage it was merely a bill (*προβούλευμα*); it required the vote of the Assembly to make it an act (*ψήφισμα*). The month in which it passed the Council, we are told, was Pyanepsion (corresponding to the second half of October and the first half of November) in the year 337. No step was taken to bring it before the Assembly, its supporters probably waiting for a favorable crisis to do so. But the fortunes of Macedon continued to be on the ascendant; Philip had realized his full ambition, and was making his preparations to invade the Persian empire as commander-in-chief of Greece. The Macedonian party at Athens were accordingly stronger and bolder than ever. On the sixth day of Elaphebolion, five months after Ctesiphon's measure had received the sanction of the Council, Æschines laid a charge against him, before the Archons of the year, as having been guilty of *παράνομα* on three distinct grounds: (1) that he had proposed to honor with a public vote of thanks a commissioner and trustee whose accounts had yet to pass the ordeal of the public audit; (2) that he had moved for a proclamation to be made in a place distinctly forbidden by law; (3) that he had caused a document false in substance to be deposited among the public records. These first and second points were, of course, purely technical. The third was the main issue; whether it were true or false that Demosthenes had proved himself to be a public benefactor.

In order to stop Ctesiphon's measure from coming before the Assembly, it was quite sufficient for Æschines to have

given the above notice of action. Matters would rest in abeyance until the case was tried ; the state of the law on this point is incidentally mentioned in the course of our present speech.* In an action whose issue was so doubtful, neither party would be very anxious to hurry matters on ; each would be interposing delays till a favorable crisis came for their own particular object. The death of Philip, the revolts and confusion which followed, the prospects of Alexander's reign, whose success or failure no one could predict, these and the like variations of fortune kept the fickle Democracy of Athens in a constant state of excitement. As the fortunes of Macedon waxed or waned for the moment, so for that moment the Macedonian party would have the Athenian mob at their back or else at their throat. Until it was clear beyond all question what Alexander was equal to doing, any attempt to precipitate matters was warily to be avoided by the Constitutional party no less than by their opponents. In the depth of degradation which Athenian politics had reached, statesmanship had come to be merely a game played for the paltry stake of personal wealth and distinction. We entirely exempt Demosthenes himself from this imputation ; and a few eminent names might be mentioned as being exceptions also. But the general run of leading politicians were animated by nothing else than the greed of personal advantage and interest. And the men composing the public Assembly were either puppets in the hands of a strong unscrupulous clique, or else a feeble *fainéant* set of obstructives, without the courage or honesty to open their lips and speak the truth. Hence the policy of Athens wavered like a reed in the wind. Let the news have been received from Asia of "another great Macedonian vic-

* § 102, p. 36.

tory," and all Athens would be on its knees to worship the youthful and rising sun. Next day let a fiery piece of rhetoric burst from the lips of an independent member, and behold the "vulgus infidum" turning their backs on the luminary of yesterday's adoration. Men and parties being such at Athens, it is easy to see how the great question, which Ctesiphon's case would really raise, was allowed to lie in abeyance for some six years or more. At last, early in 330, when the arms of Macedon were thoroughly triumphant, Alexander a few months before having crushed Darius at Arbela, and Antipater having done the same to the Peloponnesian league in Greece, Æschines thought they were strong enough to command a majority in the Assembly, and that any body of dikasts appointed to try the case would reflect public opinion and give their verdict accordingly. So he hurried his action on, to get Demosthenes censured and ruined before some change of fortune should intervene in his favor.

A case so exciting as this insured a crowded court. From all parts of Greece, it is said,* they flocked to Athens to hear the trial. Æschines, speaking for the prosecution, dwells first on his two strong points, the technical breaches of the law. He then proceeds to make a withering analysis of all the public and private life of Demosthenes, showing him up in such a light that, if it were true, his proper portion would be, instead of public honor, public infamy and exile. He divides his analysis into four chapters: the first denounces the orator as accomplice of Philocrates, in making the fatal peace of 346; the second imputes to the orator's Eubœan policy the final breach of that peace with Philip, and all the war and disorder belonging to the whole period; the third

* Cicero, de Opt. Gen. Orat. 7.

includes subsequent charges connected with the war against Amphissa, the alliance with Thebes, and the last conflict with Philip ; the fourth is confined to the reign of Alexander, taxing the orator with being Alexander's secret friend, whence three opportunities, it is alleged, have been allowed to slip, in any one of which the fortunes of Athens might fairly have been restored. Then there follows the famous picture of the perfect ideal politician, and a caricature of Demosthenes, to be viewed in strong contrast. The caricature is, of course, embellished with the grossest personality. And so concludes what we may call the first part of the oration, containing the separate arguments in support of the three distinct pleas. The second part is a warning to the Court on no account to allow Demosthenes to have this honor paid him. The present abuse of public laudation is contrasted bitterly with the ancient practice, when such honors were rare instead of common, and given only to men of merit, not to the worthless and venal. To remedy this, let them now revive the old severity of the Court in dealing with breaches of the Constitution. For instance, let them compel Demosthenes to reply to the charges in the order in which they were actually laid, taking the special illegalities first and the general topic after. *Æschines* then anticipates the line of his opponent's reply, and does his best to refute it, in detail as well as in general, specially explaining the reason why he had not brought forward these accusations sooner. He protests against the immorality, as well as the bad example to the young, of a man receiving a grant of honor who is not only undistinguished by any public service, but who has been also the cause of so many public disasters. Let them beware of styling such as the benefactors of the state ; let them think of their country and its

laws, and their own famous forefathers. The rest of his speech is merely a brilliant peroration.

Ctesiphon now rose to reply, but we do not possess the smallest record of what his answer was. Probably it only amounted to a formal denial of the charge. He might safely leave Demosthenes to deal with the whole matter. How the orator discharged this duty we see in the speech itself. It only remains to notice its general merit and value.

He vindicates with the greatest success his *honesty* as a politician. Whether his policy was wise, — whether the freedom of Athens could not have been better secured by making Philip their friend than by driving him into hostility, — this is another question. But the course which the orator advised the state to take was certainly honest and brave, if it did verge on desperate. And when we compare him with the other leaders of the same age and time, his courage and honesty really shine as beyond description brilliant. It is well to bear this in mind when we read his self-laudation, which entirely lacks the reserve and delicacy one would have preferred to see. But he spoke under strong provocation. Ever since this vote of honor had been proposed by Ctesiphon, accusation after accusation had been brought against Demosthenes by the friends and agents of Macedon. If they could once have secured a conviction, of course the decree of the Crown would have been ignominiously cancelled. Their attacks, in short, amounted to an organized persecution; and this persecution had lasted for something like six years. But the spirit of law and right was not entirely dead at Athens, although it was moribund. What with the strength of his character, and what with the strength of his party, the orator passed unscathed through this protracted ordeal. But the iron must indeed have entered into

his soul. And hence we can make a great allowance for the bitterness of his recrimination and the rather glaring colors of his eulogies on himself. He speaks like a man whose honest anger has been aggravated into passion, and like one whose consciousness of innocence has been aggravated into self-worship. We must also, in estimating the moral tone of the speech, allow for the decadence of his age and the low calibre of Athenian courts of justice. To a speaker addressing such an audience, exaggeration was indispensable, and personalities, however coarse, were more impressive than any logic. If we estimated the Speech on the Crown from an objective point of view, we might call its arguments somewhat strained, its veracity sometimes suspicious, and its taste by no means faultless. But defects which belong to an age or a nation can only be viewed apart. Whatever else may be said of the speech, "the greatest effort of the greatest orator," this at least is undeniable, — it won a triumph for right and truth at a very critical moment, and has cleared forever the public character of one who was truly a patriot.

The instances of suspicious veracity are noticed as they occur; * my own theory respecting them is that the orator's statements are just true in the letter, just barely true and no more, anything but explicit, and very likely to convey a false impression to his hearers. Morally they are as indefensible as if they were actual falsehood; but rhetorically they were perfect triumphs of ingenuity and skill. The usual interpretation of them would make Demosthenes guilty not merely of direct misstatements, but also of positive stupidity; the former, I think, is very improbable, the latter quite impossible. To hope to defeat an opponent by flat

* See §§ 22, 24, notes.

contradiction involving palpable falsehood, this would be simply absurd ; and Demosthenes of all men would have been the last to attempt it. So with respect to his defence on the two technical points of law, some of the editors impute to him a tissue of pure inventions ; and there again it is doubtful whether they do a greater insult to his truthfulness or to his common-sense, or, last of all, to his talent. I should fancy the case to be thus : that *Æschines*, in his accusations, had raked up clauses of law, existing indeed, but never now enforced, or at any rate very frequently violated by consent ; that Demosthenes, on the other hand, raked up clauses of exceptions and exemptions belonging to the same laws, and equally obsolete, or at any rate of equally little importance in point of right. He might as well have stated honestly that this was his line of argument. But such a statement would not have suited Athenian critical ears. Nothing except artifice would ever satisfy them. *Æschines* had shown superb artifice in getting the legal objections together ; it was now for Demosthenes to show the same by the manner in which he would overthrow them. If Ctesiphon's measure had really been so directly in violation of the law, is it likely that the Council would have passed it ? or that he himself would not have been warned to amend the measure for his own sake ? Again, if Demosthenes's reply on the legal points of the case had been really as convincing as he pretends it to be, is it likely that he would have objected to take those two points first and the general topic after ? I believe, in fine, that these two breaches of the law were nominal rather than real ; the law in both cases existed, if any one chose to enforce it ; the law might be made to apply to the present charge in both cases, if the Court were only disposed to rule in that direc-

tion. If they were otherwise disposed, the legal points were entirely worthless. If the Court wished to condemn Ctesiphon, they had a legal justification, although of a feeble kind. If the Court wished to acquit him, they had their justification then in common-sense and in common practice.

The real issue, as we have seen, in the present prosecution, was not an issue of points disputed in national law or national history ; the issue was whether Philip's opponents at Athens could or could not be crushed ; Demosthenes once overthrown, the rest of his party would prove easy victims. But Æschines had overrated his own ability and influence. The fiery rhetoric of the reply shrivelled the accusation to atoms. The popular Court of Justice at Athens, always notorious for their facility in yielding anything and everything to the eloquence of the moment, always in the hands and at the beck of the person who happened to speak last, had no hesitation whatever in their verdict on this occasion. By the honesty of their political leaders most of them would set but little store ; by the talent of their public speakers there was scarcely a man who would not set a store which was the very greatest. And where, as on this rare occasion, honesty and talent fought combined, their force was irresistible, and their triumph perfectly certain. The few who did not care for the orator's eloquence would give him their support as an honest man and a victim ; the many who did not care for the orator's honesty would give him their support as a truly glorious speaker. So that Æschines would be reduced to personal friends or bought partisans as his only supporters on the bench. It is little marvel that he failed to obtain even so much as one fifth of the votes, and left the Assembly a ruined man with nothing but exile before him.

The blow he had aimed at Demosthenes was suicidal to himself. Nor can we imagine the possibility of any other result than this when we read the rival speeches. The verdict of any who reads them will surely be always the same as that of the Court which heard them. True, the speech of *Æschines* has many points that are brilliant. But it is inferior in vigor, inferior in dexterity, inferior in its indignation, and inferior in its pathos. The one speech has a genuine ring of patriotism and courage about it; the other rings like debased metal, coated over thickly enough with an affectation of high principle, but still transparent to the naked eye as coin that will not pass. We have the two orations to compare in their last, most finished shape, not as they were actually spoken, but as they were corrected and polished, with a view to publication by their authors in permanent manuscript form. They are, therefore, works which embody reflection and logical power, as well as ready eloquence and mere rhetorical talent. The comparison leads to only one conclusion, that Demosthenes, in our common phrase, was the "better man all round." It is really impossible to say that *Æschines* has the advantage of him at any point whatever, — even on the two legal questions, be their value what it may. Never perhaps in the course of history was defeat in a political duel so decisive, so overwhelming, so irretrievable as this.

To conclude: if we cannot wholly approve the moral tone of the Speech on the Crown, we can praise without reserve or stint the magnificent style of its language. The orator's exquisite choice of words and their still more perfect arrangement, the splendid roll of his long periods, the delicate balance of the antitheta, the superb grammatical finish pervading the whole, — these are unmistakable indeed; there can be

but one opinion about them. It is pleasant to know that even in those days the beaten rival could own so freely his victor's superior merit; we agree entirely with *Æschines*, that a speech so grand to read must have been sublime to hear; we echo his graceful compliment, and add ourselves what his Rhodian friends may perhaps have added then, "O 'si audissemus.'"

II.

THE "Phocian War" and the "Peace of Philocrates" are introduced so prominently in the course of the Speech on the Crown that a brief historical notice of both is almost indispensable. But the records we have of this period are so confused and involved that we cannot assign exact dates to each of the several events: we are only able to trace their general sequence and connection. The War took its rise most probably out of the old ill-feeling which had always subsisted between Thebes and Phocis, and a strong wish, on the part of Thebes, to cripple Phocis as a dangerous and ill-affected neighbor. For this purpose they took advantage of the all but defunct Amphictyonic Council, whose meetings for a long period had been little more than formal, and whose decrees had ceased to be looked on as of any political importance. However, the state of Phocis, in the year 357, was prosecuted before this Council as guilty of sacrilege. The ground of the charge was the fact that they had occupied and tilled a part of the land which was dedicated to Apollo as supreme God of Delphi. The prosecution was actually brought by the Thessalian members of the Council; but it is almost certain that Thebes was the

prime mover in the case, and Thessaly merely their instrument. Sentence was passed on the Phocians, and a heavy fine imposed. At this time the leading men of Phocis were Philomelus and his two brothers, Onomarchus and Phayllus. At the instigation of Philomelus, the Phocians refused to pay the fine, marched upon Delphi and seized the town and temple, alleging that they were the original presidents of the oracle, and therefore entitled to hold it in their own possession. Of course they intended to use the oracle as the mouthpiece of their own policy, and in fact Philomelus did so on the earliest opportunity. Thus they were able, ostensibly, to condemn and annul the decrees of the Amphictyonic Council by the voice and sentence of the God himself, whose honor and worship that Council was specially appointed to guard. And hence the war, as regarded from the view of either party, was entitled the "Sacred War," and is commonly so referred to.

Two unsuccessful attempts to expel the Phocians from Delphi were made by the neighboring state, the Locrians of Amphissa. After the second defeat the Locrians implored the help of Thebes, appealing to them in the name of the God. Thebes assented, and induced Thessaly to join them in making the attack. On the other hand, Athens and Sparta favored Philomelus, though they could not give him active support; and Achæa sent him a small army of reinforcement. After an irregular campaign and a battle near the town of Neon, the result of which was doubtful, the Phocians retired on Delphi, and the allies went home. Philomelus, who was killed in the last engagement, was succeeded by Onomarchus as commander-in-chief. The latter seems to have been a vicious despot, but an able general. He conducted the war with such success that he laid

Locris and Doris waste, captured Amphissa and other towns, seized Orchomenus in Bœotia, and was actually besieging Chæronea when the Theban army compelled him to fall back on his own territory.

At this point of the war, in the year 352, Onomarchus was appealed to for aid by Lycophron of Pheræ (probably his ally; for Pheræ had refused to join the rest of Thessaly in the attack on Phocis): Pheræ was being besieged by Philip of Macedon, abetted, though little aided, by the northern Thessalians, at whose invitation he had first invaded Thessaly, in order that they might gratify their old grudge against the Pheræans. Onomarchus sent Phayllus with an army to relieve Pheræ, but he was defeated and driven back. Onomarchus then advanced upon Philip himself with the whole of his forces; but after some few partial successes, his army was utterly crushed, and he lost his own life. Pheræ surrendered, and Philip was master of Thessaly.

The remnant of the Phocian army, having returned under the command of Phayllus, seems to have been in a little time reconstituted as a military force. Mercenary troops at this period were easy enough to procure. And the plunder of the sacred treasury at Delphi had supplied the Phocians with ample funds for this and all the expenses of the war. They now seem to have invaded Bœotia with more or less of success; they prolonged the conflict up to the year 346. Meantime, Athens was intriguing to recover Thespiæ and Platea, and, at all events, Oropus; Sparta was trying to annex Megalopolis and Messene. Hence Megalopolis, in 352, solicited the aid of Athens against Sparta; but Athens, after much discussion, resolved to remain neutral. The Thebans, however, sent a strong force, just set at lib-

erty by the defeat of Onomarchus, to assist the Megalopolitans: Argos, Sicyon, Messene, also joined the same side. Sparta, on the other hand, was aided by Phocis and Phæræ: and a series of dubious battles followed, ending in a hollow truce, no decisive results whatever having been attained by either side.

Philip, in the interval, had made secure his ground in Thessaly, and then proceeded to do the same in Thrace. Forming an alliance with one Thracian potentate, Amadocus, he invaded the dominions of another, the famous Cersobleptes, defeated him in battle, and carried away his son as a hostage. Having thus made good his footing in Thrace, he made a demonstration against Heræum on the Propontis, to the great temporary wrath and excitement of the Athenians, who, however, took no action at present, in spite of the urgent appeals addressed to them by Demosthenes. Consequently Philip went on with his plans against the Chalcidian cities. In the year 349 he began the actual attack, having spent the two previous years in sowing the seeds of venal treachery in all their principal towns. Although interrupted by a revolt of Phæræ, and by the Athenian forces sent under Chares and Charidemus to the assistance and relief of Olynthus, Philip succeeded either by treachery or force in capturing all the chief of the Chalcidian cities, and Olynthus finally surrendered, and was razed to the ground in the year 348.

In the course of all these events Demosthenes had maintained the same consistent attitude: we have his speeches which trace the whole history; the speech on behalf of the Megalopolitans, spoken in 353 or 352; the first Philippic, spoken in 351, when Philip had just commenced the siege of Heræum; lastly, the Olynthiac orations in 349. The

orator, up to this point, had showed himself as the earnest and bitter antagonist of the king of Macedon, and with rare political foresight had understood from the outset the ulterior aims of Philip regarding the states of Greece.

And now we have come to the "Peace of Philocrates." In November of the year 347 Philocrates passed a resolution in the Assembly at Athens that envoys should be sent to Philip to make terms of peace and alliance. Among the envoys were Demosthenes and Æschines both : Philip met them at Pella. His diplomacy proved completely triumphant over the Athenian politicians ; he forced Athenian concessions out of them, one after another ; but they failed to elicit from him the slightest promise or arrangement respecting Thrace, Thebes, or Phocis. Yet, strange to say, when the envoys returned to Athens, in March of the year 346, after hot discussion, debate, and reciprocal vilification, the terms of peace were accepted ; and Antipater, on Philip's part, actually administered the oath of peace to the Athenians, so that their state was bound to inaction, Philip still remaining at liberty to carry on his operations until he should formally have taken the same oath himself. A second body of envoys from Athens to administer the oath to Philip, after delay and procrastination which makes their conduct most suspicious, find him at last in Thrace, just victorious in a campaign with his old enemy, Cersobleptes, who for the time is utterly crushed and made into a tributary subject. Thus the territory lying between Macedonia and the Athenian property in the Chersonese is entirely in Philip's hands. He can march through it as he pleases, and use its resources at his own discretion. Still the envoys show no haste in binding him down by the oath of peace. More than two months have now been

wasted since the oath was taken by Athens ; yet Philip beguiles the envoys to come with him southward, as far as Pheræ, before he consents to be sworn : at Pheræ he does at last condescend to confirm the treaty, with this grave exception however, that the Phocians are formally excluded from it. This was the death blow of Phocis. Phalæcus, their commander-in-chief (the son of Onomarchus, who had succeeded to the office on the death of his uncle Phayllus), at first prepared to resist Philip with the aid of Archidamus and a Lacedæmonian force. But he and Archidamus quarrelled as to the plan of the campaign, and the Lacedæmonians withdrew. Phalæcus then turned traitor, and made terms with Philip for himself and his mercenaries. Philip allowed them to retire unharmed, and these soldiers of fortune betook themselves to Crete. Meantime the Macedonian forces were in the heart of Phocis. The Phocians, although deserted by their leader and by their army, made a desperate effort to resist the invading foe. The result was that their cities were stormed and all the inhabitants taken captive.

The Amphictyonic Council met, to decide on the sentence that should be passed upon Phocis. They decreed that all the towns of the state, excepting Abæ, should be destroyed, and that henceforward the Phocians should live in small and scattered villages. It was further decreed that they should pay a fine of ten thousand talents, in annual instalments of sixty ; that they should be excluded henceforward from entering the temple of Delphi ; and that they should forfeit their seat in the Amphictyonic body. Their seat, with its two votes, was transferred to Macedon.

So concluded the Phocian War after some ten years' duration. It may seem strange that so small a state should

have ever been able to hold its own in a conflict thus severe and protracted. The explanation, however, lies in the simple facts of the case: their funds were ample, their leaders a very determined and influential family, their army was easy to raise and recruit with the help of mercenary troops. The cause of the war, and the war itself, is insignificant enough, and would scarcely have left a mark in history, but for the serious results of which it proved the beginning. Phocis, we may say, in point of fact, was Philip's opportunity in Greece, just as Pheræ had been his opportunity in Thessaly, and just as Cersobleptes had been his opportunity in Thrace. Step by step the king of Macedon pursued his southward way. His policy was as consistent and simple as it was unscrupulous and wholly immoral: to take part in a national quarrel with whatever side appeared the stronger, to pursue that quarrel up to its end till the hostile party was vanquished, when the whole nation in consequence would be at his own disposal, either as conquered subjects, or else as friends and allies. So he had dealt with Thessaly and Thrace; so he proceeded to deal with Greece. And wherever the force of arms would have been inadequate for his purpose, there he tried the more deadly forces of bribery and of corruption, until he had so far corroded the strength of the power he wished to assail, that their making any effectual resistance was really out of the question. Nor were his arts of corruption of a merely vulgar kind: they included personal courtesy and friendship, frequent and profuse hospitalities, the exercise of great diplomatic talent, as well as unlimited money. By such policy firmly maintained with immense tenacity of purpose, and carried out in all its details with extraordinary courage and vigor, Philip made his upward career as rapid as it was triumphant. But his aims were always far be-

yond the narrow limits of Hellas. As Thessaly and Thrace to him were but stepping-stones to Greece, so Greece itself was to him but a stepping-stone to Persia. He could only hope to invade the Persian Empire as leader of the united Greeks, and with all their power to support him. He could only hope to secure their support by bringing them all beneath his own control, either in right of conquest, or else in right of alliance. His direct aim therefore was to be recognized, in the first instance, as one of the Powers of Greece. The Phocian War supplied him the means, and the close of that conflict saw his end attained.

The Peace of Philocrates was imperilled in the very year it was made. Athens omitted to send envoys to represent her, as usual, at the Pythian games that year, where Philip, or at any rate Macedon, had been appointed to preside. Envoys were sent by Philip to Athens to call this conduct in question; but matters seem to have been adjusted. It was at this crisis that Demosthenes delivered his oration on the Peace, and deprecated most strongly the renewal of the hostilities.

The years 345 and 344 have little that is remarkable. Philip, renewing his old course of intrigue, gave the Messenians assistance against the Lacedæmonians, and so obtained for himself a hold on the Peloponnesus; he also achieved a triumphant expedition into Thrace, and on his return he made a redistribution of Thessaly. At this juncture Demosthenes delivered his Second Philippic. He had previously been sent by Athens as envoy to Messene and Argos, in order to caution those states against the designs of Philip.

In the next year, 343, fortune favored to some extent the Athenian undertakings. They baffled Philip in his attacks on Megara, Ambracia, and Leucas. They conducted nego-

tiations with him in a very independent tone respecting Cardia and Halonnesus and other places in dispute. This was the year when Demosthenes and Æschines both delivered their orations about the alleged Misconduct of Embassy. The speech of Demosthenes on Halonnesus, as well as these two speeches, give the very fullest account of the whole political situation.

In the two succeeding years, 342 and 341, the disturbances about Eubœa are the most important feature. Macedonian troops occupied Oreus, and revolutions, both in that town and Eretria, placed a despotic government in both, of course in Philip's interest. The king of Macedon was equally busy in Thrace and in the Propontis, where his action seriously menaced the interests and property of Athens. Demosthenes made his Speech on the Chersonese, and at his instance Athenian forces were sent to Eubœa, in the autumn of the year 341, which expelled the despots of Oreus and Eretria. Demosthenes was honored with the thanks of the state; and in this year he spoke his Third Philippic.

Matters had clearly come to a crisis when peace between Athens and Macedon could no longer be maintained. Philip laid siege to Perinthus as a means to capture Byzantium; finding an unexpected resistance, he blockaded Byzantium simultaneously. And early in 340 he sent a letter to Athens which amounted to a formal complaint of their hostile action in various cases since the conclusion of peace. Finally, it threatened them with speedy punishment, unless they altered their policy. On this challenge being received, Demosthenes urged that it should be accepted at once, and that a fleet from Athens should be sent to relieve Byzantium. War was then formally declared, and so ended the Peace of Philocrates.

ANALYSIS OF THE ARGUMENT.

AN oration which, by the unanimous verdict of the best judges in ancient and modern times, has been pronounced not only "the unapproachable masterpiece of Grecian oratory," but "the greatest speech of the greatest orator in the world," and which so candid and capable a critic as David Hume has declared to be "the most perfect production of the human intellect," cannot have been a mere display of subtle logic or splendid rhetoric. It must have possessed more substantial merits. It was, in fact, what all the judicial orations of Demosthenes were, emphatically an *argument* constructed on a well-considered and wisely ordered plan, having a beginning, a middle, and an end. The orator himself, in the opening of his speech, insists on "the order of arrangement" which "he has chosen for himself" as at once his constitutional right and quite indispensable to a successful defence. The student or reader, therefore, who would understand and appreciate the oration, should observe and see clearly what that order is.

The skeleton or frame-work of the argument is concisely as follows : The first eight sections constitute the exordium, or introduction, in which, modestly but earnestly, he claims his right to make his own defence in his own way, and with marvellous skill sweeps away all the cunning contrivances of

his prosecutor, and clears the ground for a fair fight. The next forty-four sections (9 – 52) are occupied with some preliminary and extraneous matters in reply to assaults partly on his private character and partly on public measures on which *Æschines* had dwelt at great length, but for which, being prior to the administration of *Demosthenes*, he was in no way responsible, or which, in legal terms, were wholly impertinent to the indictment. In the next seventy-three sections (53 – 125) he takes up the charges in the very order of the indictment: first, defending his public policy during the period in which he took a leading part in the affairs of the state; secondly, justifying the proposal of *Ctesiphon* that he should be crowned for his patriotic services while he was still in office and his accounts had not yet been audited; and, thirdly, showing that it was lawful and proper that the crown should be proclaimed, as *Ctesiphon* proposed, in the theatre at the *Dionysiac* festivals. This review of the measures by which he had deserved such public honors and for which, in repeated instances, he had been previously crowned, leads the orator to show up in contrast the character and conduct of his rival. This terrible invective occupies the next thirty-four sections (126 – 159). Having thus disposed, in passing as it were, of some of the strongest points in the argument of *Æschines*, he returns to a narration, rapid and graphic, of the course of events in the last great struggle of Grecian liberty against the supremacy of Macedon, and puts forth that world-renowned matchless justification or rather glorification of his policy which, though it led to the disaster at *Chæronea*, was the only policy which Athens could have adopted consistently with her ancestral glory, and of which the Athenians themselves, after their defeat, expressed their unshaken and hearty approval by choosing

Demosthenes to pronounce the funeral oration over those who had fallen in the battle (160-290). In the remaining sections (291-324), which are of a more general nature, the orator portrays the ideal statesman and statesmanship which Athens required for those times, and shows how he himself had answered to that ideal, in contrast with the baseness and treachery of Æschines and his fellow hirelings and traitors in all the Grecian States, concluding with that magnificent prayer and imprecation which the best translators have confessed their inability to render adequately into any other language.

The commentators all remark the felicity of the general arrangement by which he throws the merely technical and legal points wherein his own weakness and the strength of his opponent lay into the middle of his oration, as Nestor advised Agamemnon to drive into the middle his poorest troops, while the beginning and end and main portion are so ablaze with the glory of his public policy, which his judges and hearers had adopted and still cherished as their own, that if they gave any consideration to these nice points of law, they could not but regard them practically as of no account. A critical examination of the whole structure of the oration, like that of Dissen, discloses a similar felicity in the arrangement of each and all of the several parts. At the same time, there is no appearance of art. It is that perfect art which conceals art, and seems like nature. The topics and arguments succeed each other in the most natural order. The critical reader cannot fail to discern this in the mere skeleton above given, and he will discern it more fully at every step as he advances in the reading and the study of the oration. Nor can he fail to observe with what consummate skill the orator plants

a battery on every position of which he takes possession in his argument, and then with what tremendous power he pours the hot shot of his fiery invective upon the character and standing of his rival.

The following remarks of Mr. Kennedy draw a just comparison between the two orators, and furnish a concise and graphic outline of the principal topics in the oration of Demosthenes. "As the speeches of both the orators are preserved to us, we have the means of comparing one with the other and forming our opinion of their respective merits. The world in general have decided as the people of Athens did, not only upon the oratorical merits of the two rivals, but upon the principal questions at issue between them. The accuser, who thought to brand his opponent with eternal infamy, has only added to the lustre of his renown. Independently of the internal evidence furnished by this and other orations of Demosthenes which have carried to most hearts a conviction of his patriotism, we cannot fail to be strongly influenced by the judgment of the Athenians themselves, whom neither their own past misfortunes nor the terror inspired by the late victory of Antipater could deter from giving a verdict, by which, while they acquitted Demosthenes from all blame, they in effect declared their approbation of his measures in opposition to Macedonia.

The reader who carefully examines the speech of *Æschines* will not fail to observe that he betrays a consciousness of weakness in that part of his case where he attacks the political character of his rival. He seems also to feel that he is speaking in opposition to the general feeling of his hearers. His own character as a politician had been dubious; his conduct so open to suspicion that, while he most bitterly assails his adversary, he is constantly under

the necessity of defending himself. On the whole life, public and private, of Demosthenes, he pours a torrent of invective ; to this the greater part of his speech is directed ; yet he seems to have been impelled to it rather by hate and revenge than by any calculation of advantage. On the other hand, when he deals with the legal part of his case, commenting on those specific violations of law which Ctesiphon's measure was charged with, it is evident that his strength lay there ; he handles his subject temperately, skilfully, and carefully, laboring to make every point clear to the jury, and to impress them with the conviction that to uphold the laws was the sure way to maintain constitutional government. On these points he mainly relied, hoping by this measure to secure a verdict which would give him a triumph over his enemy, and carry the general opinion over Greece that the credit and influence of Demosthenes were extinguished.

Demosthenes, feeling his weakness as to the legal questions, dexterously throws them into the middle of his speech and passes rapidly and lightly over them, while he devotes his greatest efforts to the vindication of his own merits as a patriot and a statesman. Refusing to comply with the insidious demand of Æschines that he should take the questions in the same order as his accuser, he insists upon his legal right to conduct his defence as he pleases. Opening with a modest exordium to conciliate the favor of the jury, he launches gradually into the history of his own conduct and measures, presenting first a general view of the condition of Greece when he entered public life, and of the difficulties under which the Athenians labored in their contest with Philip ; then setting forth his own views, plans, and objects, and showing that he had advised a course

of action which both the circumstances of the time and the honor of the country required. He apologizes for the self-praise mixed up with his speech, on the ground that he was drawn to it by his opponent. Entering on the Sacred War and the Peace of B. C. 346, he labors to exculpate himself from all share in the errors then committed, imputing them chiefly to the negligence of the other ambassadors and to the treachery of Philocrates and Æschines, who, by the false hopes which they excited at Athens, prevented the people from assisting the Phocians. Coming to the events which brought on a renewal of the war, he shows how Philip's ambitious projects and encroachments in every part of Greece made it necessary to oppose him, especially for the Athenians who were menaced at home as well as abroad by his aggressions in Thrace, Eubœa, and Megara. He pursues these topics until he has carried with him the feelings of his hearers, which must have been strongly on his side when he dilated on the glorious issue of the campaigns in Eubœa and the Propontis, and read to them the decrees of the Byzantines, Perinthians, and Chersonesites in honor of Athens, all which were due to the vigorous measures of his own administration. Having thus secured the good-will and sympathy of his judges, he proceeds to discuss the legal charges against Ctesiphon. Dwelling on them but a short time, he plunges into a personal attack upon Æschines, holding up to ridicule the meanness of his birth and parentage, and retorting on him the same coarse and opprobrious language which had been used towards himself. The bitterness of his invective is only to be excused on the ground of strong provocation, added to an assurance that his more grave charges of treason and corruption were well-founded. Those charges, so often advanced before, he here repeats,

denouncing more particularly the conduct of Æschines upon his mission to Delphi, B. C. 339, to which the disaster of Chæronea was attributable. The account which Æschines had given of this affair he shows to be false, and enters upon a minute examination of the proceedings which caused Philip to be elected Amphictyonic general, and to march south an invading army, nominally against the Amphissian Ionians, really against Boeotia and Attica. A graphic description is given of the consternation at Athens on hearing that Philip had seized Elatea. The meeting of the people, the advice of Demosthenes to them, his embassy to Thebes, the success of his negotiations, and the conclusion of the alliance between Thebes and Athens are briefly recounted, Demosthenes forcibly pointing out the advantage of his measures, contending that they were not to be judged by the mere event of the battle, and that it was far more glorious for his country to be defeated in a struggle for the independence of Greece than it would have been to keep aloof from the contest. Here he makes that noble adjuration which has in all ages been admired, appealing to his countrymen by the deeds of their ancestors, of whom they would have acted most unworthily, had they without a struggle abandoned the post of honor bequeathed to them. He himself as a statesman would have deserved execration, had he advised such a course. The failure of their arms was not to be imputed to the minister, who had done all he could to insure their success, but rather to the commanders or to evil fortune. As Æschines had said so much about the ill-fortune which attended him, he draws a comparison between the different fortunes of himself and his rival, first of their early life and education, next of their course as public men. Æschines from the beginning had taken a

part which put him in opposition to the true interests of Athens, which caused him to rejoice at her disasters, to quail and tremble at her successes. He never came forward to assist her counsels when she needed them, but only to censure others who had given their honest advice because it had not turned out as well as was expected. It was a signal proof of his malignant disposition, that he had expatiated on the late disastrous events as if they were a subject of triumph to him, without shedding a single tear, without any faltering in his voice, without betraying the least emotion or symptom of grief. In reply to the challenge of Æschines to say for what merit he claimed the reward of a crown, Demosthenes boldly declares, for his incorruptibility, by which he was distinguished, not only from Æschines, but from the multitude of venal orators in the Grecian world. Had there been but a few more like himself in other states, Macedonia never could have risen to greatness upon their ruin. He had done all that was possible for a single man ; and Athens, while she shared the misfortune of all the Greeks, had the consolation of reflecting that she had striven gallantly and bravely to avert the common calamity. Æschines had lauded the great men of a by-gone age, drawing an invidious contrast between Demosthenes and them. This, says Demosthenes, was not a fair way of judging him : he should be tried by reference to his own acts as compared with those of his contemporaries. Yet even from the former comparison he did not shrink ; for he had acted on the same principles as the statesmen of olden time, striving always to maintain the honor and dignity of Athens. Attachment to his country and earnest anxiety for her welfare had been his constant and abiding motives of action : throughout his whole life,

in the day of power, in the hour of trial and adversity, those feelings had never deserted him : that was the test of a good and honest citizen ; by that he ought to be judged.

Such is, in substance, the argument of this celebrated oration as far as relates to the main question in the cause. The effect produced by the speech upon an Athenian audience can be but faintly imagined by us who read it at this distance of time. Although Athens was not then what she had once been ; although she was shorn of her honors, stripped of her empire and dependencies, without allies, without resources, without means of resistance to that iron power under which all Greece had succumbed, there was still the remembrance of the past, not yet extinguished by habitual servitude ; there were still vague hopes of future deliverance, and a fire of smothered indignation burning in the hearts of the people, ready to burst into a flame at the first opportunity. That such were their feelings is proved by what occurred seven years afterwards upon the death of Alexander, when Athens made one convulsive effort for freedom, ere she finally submitted to her fate. Demosthenes stood before his countrymen, representing all which remained of Athenian dignity and glory. If any man could help them, it was he. His advice had always been steady and constant ; his warnings should have been earlier attended to ; but even yet there might be need of him. He was their consolation for the past, their hope for the future. During the progress of his address such thoughts rushed upon their minds with greater and greater force, till they were elevated above themselves, and all the spirit of their ancestors was, for the moment, regenerate within them. They felt that it was impossible for them to find him guilty without passing sentence upon themselves, without con-

demning the policy which Athens had for a long series of years consistently pursued. The genius of Athens protected her from such disgrace ; and by an overwhelming majority, which left the accuser no choice but to retire into exile, a verdict was given for the defendant."

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς
εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσην εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ
διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην
ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα,
ἐπειθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρ- 5
ας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς
θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι
περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν
εἶη τοῦτό γε), ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον,
ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο 10
γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο
δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδὲν,
οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἴσην ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδοῦναι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβού-
ληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, 15
οὕτως ἐᾶσαι χρήσασθαι.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ ἃ
τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,

καὶ μεγάλα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλέειν τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν — οὐ βούλομαι δὲ δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν
 5 οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσ-
 4 θαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν, τούτῳ
 10 δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κἂν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολί-
 15 τευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.

5 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντας ἂν
 21 ὁμολογήσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοί τε καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χαλεπὸν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τούτο
 25 συμβαίῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτοῦ τοῦ

ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦ-
σαι μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου
δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ
ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὖνους ὦν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικούς, οὐ
μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους ᾔετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὑμᾶς ὁμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν
ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας
καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ
διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἐν τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν,
εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς
τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν διαφυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ
λέγοντος ὑστέρου δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται,
καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέρ-
οις ἀκροατῇν οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ
ἀπάντων.

13

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντὸς, ὡς ἔοικε, ὁ
λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμέν-
ων, βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ
ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὐχομαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσῃν εὖνοιαν
ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, 20
τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν
ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐ-
δοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστω, τοῦτο
παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ
τῆς γραφῆς γυνῶναι.

25

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίδωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν ὁ
Αἰσχίνης, καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος

εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμενη· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον
 τᾶλλα διεξιὼν ἀνῆλθε καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατεψεύ-
 σατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα
 βραχεία, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων πρῶτον
 5 εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἡγμένος
 ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ
 μου.

- 10 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βε-
 βλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ
 10 δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἶον οὗτος
 ἔστιαιτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν),
 μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνύσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ
 ὑπέρευν πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφί-
 σασθε ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῶ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ
 15 βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν
 ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς
 ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γυγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ
 τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ'
 ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ', ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον
 20 εὐνοίαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότε-
 11 ρον, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. κακοήθης δ' ὢν, Αἰσ-
 χίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὐηθὲς φήθης, τοὺς περὶ τῶν
 πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα
 με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι.
 25 οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ'
 ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ κατεψεύδου καὶ
 διέβαλλες, αὐτίκα ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης

τῆς ἀνέδην οὕτωςι γεγενημένης ὕστερον, ἂν βουλο-
μένοις ἀκούειν ἢ τουτοισὶ, μνησθήσομαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, καὶ 12
περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι
διδόασι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαί- 5
ρεσις αὐτῇ ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ
λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ
τοιαῦτα· τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν
τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει
δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖ- 13
σθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, 11
οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν·
οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε
δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς
ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὐσί γε τηλικούτοις 15
ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήκει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων
τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν
εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττοντα ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα
καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ'
ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφό- 20
μενον· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώ-
κειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμέ δ', εἴπερ ἐξελέγξειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν
οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν 14
νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήκει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδι-
κοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ 25
τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις πικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα
ἔχουσαι τὰπιτίμια, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι

κατ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὁπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς καὶ
 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡμολο-
 15 γεῖτ' ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' ἐκστάς
 τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγὼν τοὺς παρ'
 5 αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον
 χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφο-
 ρήσας ὑποκρίνεται· εἴτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει
 δὲ τουτονι, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμέ
 ἔχθραν προτίσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντη-
 10 κὼς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι
 16 φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησι-
 φῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκό-
 τως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ'
 15 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι,
 οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν,
 ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ
 γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

17 Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ
 20 τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας
 οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον
 αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μύλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης
 καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγ-
 μένα ἐαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. ἔστι
 25 δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσήκον
 ἴσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγ-
 ματα ἀναμνήσαι ὑμᾶς, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα και-
 ρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρήτε.

Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' 18
ἐμὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον
μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βού-
λεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὁρῶν-
τες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, 5
οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς
γὰρ ἡτύχηκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέ-
χρηντο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει,
καὶ οὐθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον
ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτοὺς, οὐθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων 10
ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τις ἦν
ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἅπασιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιπ- 19
πος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις προδό-
ταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ 15
πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἶτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι
καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ
πάντων ἐφύετο. ὥς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει
τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς, νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θη-
βαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι κατα- 20
φεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο
μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην, ἐκεί-
νοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν συνηγωνί- 20
σατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐκόντας
ἐξαπατωμένους ; ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρὴ 25
κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν,
οἱ πόλεμον συνεχῇ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμοῦντων ὑμῶν,

καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ
φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ'
ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς
καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἐτοίμως
5 ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχω-
ρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐ δι' ἐμὲ, ὡς οὗτος διέ-
βαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ
δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμά-
21 των, ἃν τις ἐξετάξῃ δικαίως, αἵτια εὐρήσει. καὶ
10 ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ
διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναι τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν
τούτοις ἀδικήμα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμὲ, ἀλλ'
ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης
'Αριστόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ
15 γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα
Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνὸς,
οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, οἱ
δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γ'
ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ'
22 οὐδέν οὐδαμοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων
21 καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς
τοῦθ' ἦκεν ἀναιδεΐας ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρα
ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ
κεκωλυκὸς εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινού συνεδρίου
25 τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι. εἴτ' ὦ — τί ἂν
εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ
παρὼν τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλικην

νυνὶ διεξήεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως
 ἡγανάκτησας, ἣ παρελθὼν ταῦτα ἂ νῦν κατηγορεῖς
 ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες ; καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν 23
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ,
 σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ δια- 5
 μαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίη-
 σας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν
 φωνὴν οὐδεὶς, εἰκότως· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς
 οὐδένας ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ
 πάλοι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὗθ' οὗτος ὑγίης 10
 περὶ τούτων εἶρηκεν οὐδέν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ 24
 διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται·
 εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας εἰς πόλεμον
 παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ εἰρήνης
 πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως 15
 ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι
 μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ; ἐπὶ
 τὴν εἰρήνην ; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν
 πόλεμον ; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. 20
 οὐκοῦν οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμῶν οὐδ'
 αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὢν κατε-
 ψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὃν δείκνυται.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, 25
 ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προεί- 25
 λετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ
 Φιλίππῳ πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράτ-

των ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν.
ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα βουλευῶν ἀποπλεῖν τὴν
ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν
ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπο-
5 λαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα
26 ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐδύνατο, ὦ ἄνδρες
'Αθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον
ὡς πλείστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὀρκων,
ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχιστον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ'
10 ἧς ὠμόσατε ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν
εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πύσας ἐξελύσασθε τὰς παρασκευὰς
τὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὃ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές,
ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὀρκους
15 ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ
27 τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἕνεκα. ἃ ἐγὼ προορώ-
μενος, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιζόμενος τὸ ψή-
φισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς
ἂν ᾗ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὀρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπο-
20 λαμβάνειν, ἢν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων
συμμάχων, ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ
Σέρρειον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν 'Εργίσκην, οὕτω
γίγνοιθ' οἱ ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκείνος τοὺς
ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θράκης κατα-
25 σταίῃ, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων, πολλῶν δὲ
στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥαδίως τοῖς λοι-
28 ποῖς ἐπιχειροίῃ πράγμασιν. εἴτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ

λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγινώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλεύων ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾧ μιν δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἦκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιερέα τέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυνούιν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. ἢ τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακεῖναι; οὐ δῆπου. λέγε τοῖνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβὼν, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος οὐκ εἰδὼς παρέβη.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

29

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, ἐκατομβαιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποιῆται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἢ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλίσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἤδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρων συμμάχους. πρέσβεις ἡρέθησαν Εὐβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνούσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.]

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει 30
συμφέρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθήντο ἐν

Μακεδονία τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος τάκεϊ, ἔξον ἡμερῶν δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λα-
 5 βόντας τοὺς ὄρκους πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὠρκίζομεν αὐτὸν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφότερα εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία.

- 31 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα
 11 μὲν Φιλίππου, δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμολογῶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι τούτοις. ἕτερον δ' εὐθύς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι
 32 τούτου μεῖζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ
 16 ὁμολόγησε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψη-
 φίσματι, πάλιν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπίω-
 20 μεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπῇ ποιήσaiτο, ἵνα μὴ, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευά-
 ζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύ-
 σαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσατε τὸν πορθμὸν, ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτα
 25 ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν ἀκείνους ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ
 33 μῆδεν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, μὴ καὶ ταῦτα προειλη-

φῶτος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι
 ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτὸν,
 ὥστε μισθοῦται τὸν κατὰπτυστον τουτονὶ, οὐκέτι
 κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβειων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ'
 αὐτὸν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι δι' 5
 ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. ἀξιώ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες 14
 Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι παρ' ὅλον
 τὸν ἄγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν
 ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιού-
 μην ἕτερον, πάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἅμα 10
 τούτου κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη κάμοι πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν
 κατηγορημένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν 15
 ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ρηθέντες, καὶ δι'
 οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὥς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ
 παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ 15
 ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἂν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ
 ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς
 ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγεννημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τούναν-
 τίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητος
 ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ 20
 ταῦτα συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φω-
 κεύσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναληγσίας καὶ
 τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων.
 ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' 26
 ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν 25
 συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν
 Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις

αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πει-
 σθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν,
 τούτου δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν
 μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ
 5 πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγ-
 37 μένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι
 τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστο-
 λὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ'
 ἄπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἀρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ
 στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων [καὶ] βουλῆς γνώμῃ, μαιμακτηριῶνος
 δεκάτῃ ἀπρίοντος, Καλλισθένης Ἑτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε μη-
 δένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾷ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγ-
 νεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις
 εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἐκάστους ἦν παρέλαβον τάξιν
 38 διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὁ δ' ἂν
 ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας
 ἐπιτιμίαις, εἰ μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὅν· περὶ
 δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ
 ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν
 δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς
 σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς
 σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἑλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδνα
 καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον. εἶπε Καλλισθένης Φαληρεὺς.]

10 Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖ-
 σθε, ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;
 39 Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε Φίλιπ-
 πος μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἵστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἶσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἔκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγοχότας, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνοχλήσθε περὶ τούτων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριελημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικούντες.]

Ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ 40
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους,
ὅτι “ἐγὼ ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ
λυπουμένων, ὥστ’ εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι
καὶ Θετταλοὶ, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, 5
ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε,” οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι γρά-
ψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ
τούτων ὥχεται ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μηδ’ ὅτιοῦν
προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ’ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’
ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνῳ ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιή- 10
σασθαι. ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαί-
πωροι κέχρηνται. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ 41
συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς καὶ ὁ δευρ’ ἀπαγγέλλας
τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς οὕτως ὅτι τὰ Θηβαίων
ὁδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρὰ, καὶ τού- 15
των καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ’ ἄλλα πεπόν-

θασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτήματ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ
 5 χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πρά-
 ξαντος.

42 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα
 μᾶλλον ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν
 ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὥς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν
 10 νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ Φιλίπ-
 που διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάν-
 των ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων,
 43 ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνῆρηντο
 13 αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τὶ ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι
 Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον, εὐεργέτην,
 σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν
 αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο
 λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ
 20 δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἦν
 ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως
 4 ὑμῖν πεφenaκισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἥλπισαν,
 ἦγον τὴν εἰρήνην ἄσμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκ
 44 πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιωὴν Φίλιππος
 25 Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλ-
 λήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγά-
 λας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων

ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες ἐκείσε διεφθέ-
 ροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες, ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα
 παρεσκευάζεται ἐκείνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἡσθά-
 νοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν 45
 γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αἰεὶ 5
 καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν
 ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ
 διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ
 πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέ-
 ραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιοιτοῖ 10
 τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς
 ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἦξειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν
 ἐτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, ὅταν
 βούλωνται. εἴτ' οἶμαι συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθε- 46
 σιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥαθυμίας τὴν ἐλευ- 15
 θερίαν ἀπολωλέκεναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τᾶλλα
 πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς
 πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ
 τότε ὠνομάζοντο, ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ
 θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τᾶλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. 20
 εἰκότως· οὐδεὶς γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ 47
 προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει,
 οὐδ' ἐπειδὴν ὧν ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ
 προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρήται·
 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ' 25
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ'
 ἐπειδὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν

καταστή, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἐστὶ, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδὼς τότε δὴ, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ 48 ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ. καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γε 5 εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς αἰὲ πάρεστι τοῖς εὐφρονούσι. μέχρι τούτου Δασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο Φιλίππου, ἕως προὔδωκεν Ὀλυνθον· μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὐδικος καὶ Σῆμος οἱ Λαρισαῖοι, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ 10 Φιλίππῳ ἐποιήσαν. εἰτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβρίζοντων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονε προδοτῶν. τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος 49 ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι; ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν τις ἴδοι ὅτι 15 ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλείστα ἀντιλέγων. τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς προδιδούσι καὶ μισθαρνούσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν 20 ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ σῶ καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε.

50 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι. αἷτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινί 25 μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδύσας, ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε

δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὖν
 εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καίτοι φιλίαν 51
 γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἰπέ που λέ-
 γων “ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί.”
 ἐγὼ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς 3
 ἀξιοθένη; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου φί-
 λον εἴποιμ’ ἂν ἐγὼ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ
 τοὺς θέριστας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας
 φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ’ 52
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μὴ 10
 σθωτὸν ἐγὼ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάν-
 δρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ’ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον
 αὐτοὺς, μᾶλλον δ’ ἐγὼ τοῦθ’ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πότε-
 ρον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης
 ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἂ λέγουσιν. 15

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς 53
 ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν’ ἐμαυ-
 τῷ, ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι’ ἃ
 φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῶ
 μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. 20
 καὶ μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

ΓΡΑΦΗ.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἀρχοντος, ἐλαφροβολιῶνος ἔκτη ἱσταμένου, 54
 Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα
 παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου,
 ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δη-
 μοσθέην Δημοσθένους Παιανία χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγο-

ρεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανία χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνῃται ἀγαθὸν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῇ γράφας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἑόντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἰτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι δὲ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἂν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἂν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν πυκνῇ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πενήκοντα. κλητῆρες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

56 Ἄ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσκειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογησόμεαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος
5 τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ὃν ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράφαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ
10 τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὐρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ
58 προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῇ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα “ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶ” στεφανοῦν, καὶ

ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μὴ, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἔξεῖν τούτῳ. οὕτωςι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικάως καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μνηδεὺς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτῶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, εἰς εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα με καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς. εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγὼ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δικάσιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ προῦλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἑάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἄφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπείπων. πλεονέκτημα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα ἱπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐ τιςιν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη·

γενέσθαι τοσαύτην ὄσσην οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται
γεγονυῖαν· οὗς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς
λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας
πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε,
5 τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδοὺς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα
τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ
ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἄπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκείνον
62 μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι
ἀγνοία τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν
10 ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄν-
δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσήκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ
ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λα-
βεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας
68 εἰμὶ ἐγώ. πότερον αὐτὴν ἔχρῃν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρό-
15 νημα ἀφείσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετ-
ταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ
τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων
καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν,
δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ' ἐώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ
20 μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ
64 πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιδεῖν γιγνόμενα; ἀλλὰ νῦν
ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν
πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἂν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμ-
25 βεβηκότων τοῖς Ἕλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσchrῶν, ἧς ἂν
Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς
περιορακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας

πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἥς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους
καὶ Ἀργεῖους θείημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοὶ, 66
μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ
γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ὄχρετ' εὐθέως
ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἤγεεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ
συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν
λυπήσας, ἦν ἂν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς
ἐπραττεν ἐκείνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ
ὁμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν περιεΐλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, 10
ὅσων ἐδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς
ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;

Ἄλλ' ἐκέισε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχί- 66
νη, προσήκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; 15
ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν
Ἀθήνησιν ἐμὲ (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει),
ὃς συνήδειν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς
ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, αἰεὶ περὶ
πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν 20
πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνη-
λωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόν-
των ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν
ἕκαστοι, ἐώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς δὲ ἦν 67
ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλ- 25
μὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα,
τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι βουλευθείη μέρος

ἡ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελῆσθαι, τοῦτο προῖκμενον,
 68 ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν· καὶ μὴν
 οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ὡς τῷ μὲν
 ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρὶφ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ
 5 μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοφυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι
 ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμήσαι καὶ τοῦτ'
 εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις
 καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις
 καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήμαθ'
 10 ὁρῶσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλ-
 λήνων ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐβελοντὰς παρα-
 69 χωρήσαι Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν.
 λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖ-
 νος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως.
 15 τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰκότως καὶ προση-
 κόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ'
 οὓς ἐπολιτευόμην χρόνους. ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί
 ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; ἦδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τὰλλ'
 ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόννησον·
 70 οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι. Σέρρειον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον
 21 καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα
 ἡ πόλις ἡδίκητο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα. καίτοι σύ
 γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν
 τουτουσι, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπεί-
 25 θους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν,
 71 ὃ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῆς. οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ
 τούτων ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐκείνος σφετε-

ριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὠρεὸν, καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμὸν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῷ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον, ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιοῦμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, εἰς ἃς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατὰγων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ἡδίκηει καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυσεν τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὐ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν ὀφθῆναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν, περιείργασται δ' ἡ πόλις πεισθεῖσα ἐμοὶ, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάντα ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἁμαρτήματα ἐμά. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην ἐγὼ, καὶ ὁρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνον ἡναντιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προὔεσθαι ταῦτα Φιλίππῳ διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκείνος ἔλυσεν τὰ πλοῖα λαβὼν, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη. Φέρε δ' αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων τίς τίνος αἰτιὸς ἐστὶ γενήσεται φανερόν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μὴνὸς βοηδρομῶνος, ἐκκλησίας συγκλήτου ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὐβουλος Μνησιθέου Κόπριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὥς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον ὃ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγέροχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῇ καὶ αἰρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, 74 οἷτινες παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβὼν, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμῆσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγωνιμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῆται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

75 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγὼ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἰθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἴτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἴτα Φιλοκράτης, εἴτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἴτα πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ 5 τούτων. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, πρέσβεις ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἵλοντο τοῖσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον

Δημοφώντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος Ἀριστοφῶν Κολλυτεύς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

Ἵσπερ τοῖνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψήφισματα, 76 οὕτω καὶ σὺ δείξον, Αἰσχίνη, ποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἰτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Δέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ 77 δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἡμῶν οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφύσεως ὡς ἐναυάρχει Λεωδάμας. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσσεσθαι, εἰ οἶσεθ' ἡμῶν λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόσφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Ἀθήνας, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ 78 ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἡμῶν φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῶν μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντελεσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθήσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσσεσθαι· οὐ μίντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἐμοί. διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφήμι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἵαν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν

κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι κἀγὼ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

- 79 Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ
 5 ἐμοῦ ἐγεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμεν ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἠναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκείνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἴτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν, ἥνικ' Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο, εἴτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν ἔξοδον,
 10 οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκείνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν.
- 80 μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα,
 15 ἔπαινοι, δόξαι, τιμαὶ, στέφανοι, χάριτες παρὰ τῶν εὐ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον· τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἢ σωτηρία περιεγέμετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὖνους ἑα-
 20 τοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντις εἶναι·
- 81 πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὀρεὸν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν
 25 ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχε-

σθαι μηδ' ἂ ποιῶν ἡδίκηει μηδένα ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἄγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ 82 τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ 5 σὺ προὔξενεις αὐτῶν· οὗς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὃ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβὼν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ σύ γε, 10 ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτε, εἰ μὴ σε οὔτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. στεφα- 83 νωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ὥσπερ οὗτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρη- 15 θέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρῶν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβὼν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγήμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἔκτη ἀπὶ- 84 ὄντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος. Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἡλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνους ὧν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ

τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινεῖσαι Δημοσθέην Δημοσθένους Παιανία καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις, τραγικοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀνυγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος ὁ Φρεάρριος.]

85 Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνῃν τῇ πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι, ἂν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἦ νέα καὶ γνώριμα
 5 πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, εἰάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, εἰάν θ' ὡς ἐτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς
 10 ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγηται τοὺς χρόνους τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσ-
 15 ὁδοῦς ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

87 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κἂν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐξήτει.
 20 ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους συμμά-

χοὺς ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπολεμεῖν
τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὥς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγον-
τες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ
μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγνο- 88
μένων ὃ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκέτ' ἐρωτήσω. ὁ
δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας
τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύ-
σας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους
τούς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. τὸ δ' 10
ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει
λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἀπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς
τὰ πρῶγματα ἀφειδῶς διδούς; ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα 89
ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ
μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπειράσθε. ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς 15
πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς
κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐνοτετέροις διήγεν
ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος
τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν,
ὧν διαμύρτοιεν, καὶ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλ- 20
τιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μεταδοῖεν
ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται. Δέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς
τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινθίων,
οἱς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχῳ Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλίᾳ ἔλεξεν, 90
ἐκ τᾶς βωλᾶς λαβὼν ράτραν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε

- τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελέει Βυζαντίους καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινηθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐν τε τῷ παρεστακῷ καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δεινδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἅμῃ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέστας τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμους
- 91 καὶ τὼς τάφους, δεδόχθαι τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πρῶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ τοῖς κατοικέειν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειουργήτοις ἡμεν πασᾶν τὰν λειτουργιῶν· στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκκαίδεκαπάχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορείῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παναγύριαις, Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεαι καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὼς στεφάνους οἷς ἐστεφάνωνται ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰν τε Ἀθαναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων εὐχαριστίαν.]
- 92 Λέγει καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

[Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν, Ἐλεοῦντα, Μάδυντον, Ἀλωπεκόννησον, στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοοντα, καὶ χάριτος βωμὸν ἰδρύονται καὶ δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθὸν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδούς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἑλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερὰ. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἔλλειψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἂν δύνῃται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον 93
 σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ
 Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πό-
 λιν ἐκ τούτων ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἢ πόλιτεία
 διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν 5
 τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου
 κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γε φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὦν τοῖς Βυ-
 ζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐ
 τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχίον ἢ μιαιώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ 94
 μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως 10
 περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν
 χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι
 τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σῶζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ
 ὧν δόξαν, εὐνοίαν, τιμὴν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτάσθε.
 καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν 15
 πολιτευομένων ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὅντινα δ' ἄλλον
 ἢ πόλιν ἐστεφάνωνται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα,
 πλὴν δι' ἐμὲ, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἴνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἃς κατὰ τῶν 95
 Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχε- 20
 ρές αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων,
 συκοφαντίας οὐσας ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς
 εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἠγοῦ-
 μαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς,
 οὕτως ὥς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν 25
 χρῆσασθαι, ἐν ἧ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πε-
 πραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν

βραχέσι· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς
 τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αἰεὶ δεῖ πειράσθαι τὰ
 96 λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ
 5 κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ
 φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάναγραν, καὶ Βοιωτίαν ἄπα-
 σαν, Μέγαρα, Αἰγίναν, Κλεωνὰς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους,
 οὔτε ναῦς οὔτε τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης,
 ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλῖαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέ-
 10 ραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων
 πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίους καὶ
 Θηβαίους τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέν-
 97 των· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποιοῦν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι
 τότε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, Αἰσχίνη, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν
 15 ἐποιοῦν οὔτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἐώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα
 προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλ'
 ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς
 διδόναι ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν
 γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, καὶ ἐν
 20 οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθεύδων τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγα-
 θοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοὺς καλοὺς,
 τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι
 98 ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν οἱ ὑμέτεροι
 πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ Λακεδαι-
 25 μονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ
 τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ
 Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Δεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχεί-

ρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίους
 ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιθ-
 κότες ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύετε διαλογισάμενοι· καὶ 99
 γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι
 καὶ ὅτι οὖν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτῳ τὴν ὀργὴν 5
 εἰς ἄλλα ἔχετε, εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας
 κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνη, οὔτε μνησικακή-
 σετε οὔθ' ὑπολογίσηθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων
 οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θη-
 βαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδ' ὦν ὑπὸ Θεμί- 10
 σωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὀρωπὸν ἡδίκησθε ἀνεμνή-
 σθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐβελοντῶν
 τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὦν
 εἰς ἦν ἐγώ· ἀλλ' οὐπω περὶ τούτων. καίτοι καλὸν 100
 μὲν ἐποίησατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῷ δ' 15
 ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν
 σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως
 αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὦν ἡδί-
 κησθε ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι. μυρία
 τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, 20
 ἐξόδους πεζάς, στρατείας, καὶ πάσαι γεγονυίας καὶ
 νῦν ἐφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἀπάσας ἢ πόλιν τῆς τῶν
 ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποιή-
 ται. εἰτ' ἐγὼ θεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιού- 101
 τοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων 25
 ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινα τῆς
 βουλῆς οὔσης τί ἐμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύ-

σειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νῆ Δία πρὸς τοὺς
 βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς
 ἅπαντα προσόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με
 δικάως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ
 5 μόνον κατασχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον
 οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ
 ἐβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ'
 ἐρούντες οὗτοι;

103 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς
 10 ἐπολιτευόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ,
 τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων
 γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους
 15 τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ ὄντα ἀπολλύντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζου-
 σαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον
 καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα, τοὺς
 πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους,
 τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίγνε-
 103 σθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ γραφεῖς τὸν
 21 ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ
 τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι
 πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς
 δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἶεσθέ μοι διδόναι ὥστε μά-
 25 λιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
 καταβαλόντα ἑᾶν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες
 104 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ

ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ
 μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν,
 αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ'
 ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ
 νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέ- 5
 ναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος
 καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηρά-
 ρχους ἔτι ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε
 δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆ-
 ναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃ τι οὐκ ἐδίδουσιν. Καί μοι λέγε 105
 πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφὴν, 11
 εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου
 καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλείους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ
 δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανεύουσης Ἰπποθωντίδος, Δημοσθένους Δη-
 μοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ
 προτέρου, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ
 ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανό-
 μων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων
 οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

106

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα
 ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν
 εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.]

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατά-
λογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας
κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὐσία
ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν
πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ
ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων,
εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

- 107 Ἄρά γε μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ,
ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν οἱ
5 πλούσιοι; οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα
σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεῖς ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πείραν ἔργῳ
δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστολῶν
γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ ἱκετηρίαν
10 ἔθηκε τριηράρχος οὐδεὶς πώποθ' ὥς ἀδικούμενος παρ'
ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπο-
στολέων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὐτ' ἔξω καταληφθεῖσα
ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὐτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη
108 ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους
15 ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς
πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀδύνατα
συνέβαιναν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπό-
ρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ
δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
20 ἀξιὸς εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα

προηγουμένην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει· βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακότηδες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἑμὸν, οὐδὲ ταπεινὸν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταὐτὸ 109 τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολι- 5 τεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἡγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι συμφε- 10 ρόντων.

Ἦγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κη- 110 ρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἄριστα τε ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμι καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων 15 δεδηλώσθαι μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἑμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἶτα, κἂν μηδὲν εἴπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμά- 20 των, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐκάστω τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὗς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω 111 διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμᾶς οἶμαι μανθάνειν οὔτ' αὐτὸς 25 ἐδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς· ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσοῦτου γὰρ

δέω λέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέ-
 βαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος
 εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὧν ἡ διακεχείρικα ἡ πεπολίτευμαι παρ'
 112 ὑμῖν. ὧν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγελά-
 5 μενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος
 εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα,
 οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὧν τύχη. τίς γάρ
 ἐστὶ νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας
 μεστὸς ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα
 10 πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς χάριτος
 μὲν ἀποστρεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δ' ἄγειν, καὶ
 τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ
 εἰς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δεξάτω, κύνῳ στέρξω καὶ
 113 σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 15 ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε
 ὧν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, “ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὸν,” φησὶν,
 “ἡ βουλὴ ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα.” οὐ περὶ τούτων γε
 οὐδενός, ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα,
 ὦ συκοφάντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα, φησί.
 20 καὶ διὰ γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἐπηνούμην, ὅτι τὰνηλωμένα
 ἐπέδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς
 εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ
 χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ
 114 ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ· ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα οὐ
 25 μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις
 ἔθεσιν ὥρισταί, ἐγὼ ῥαδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω.
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ

τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλύκις ἐστεφάνωνται ὑφ' ὑμῶν· εἰθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πύλιν Χαρίδηνος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἰθ οὕτοσι Νεοπτόλεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὢν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινὰ ἄρχῃν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἄρχῃν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει. Ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' 115 ἀληθῇ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.

10

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμη βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλῆα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν δισχυρίων ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῳ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς 116 γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδηνος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλὴς εἰς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινων ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφα-

νώσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγρεῖσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.]

117 Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἔστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δῆπου. ἐπέδωκα· ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὦν ἐπέδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον· καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὦν ἐπέδωκα. νῆ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα; εἴτα παρῶν, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταὶ, οὐ κατηγόρεις;

118 Ἴνα τοίνυν εἰδῇτε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ
 10 ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἔστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνύγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις ἂ διώκει συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυανεψιώνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιδόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δῆμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πιασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωροῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανία ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ

στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγηδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ 119
γέγραψαι· ἃ δὲ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων
γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν
τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τού-
των ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφει. ὁ δὲ παμπό-
νηρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος
ὅντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, 120
τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ
τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ 10
πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη,
ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανου-
μένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν
ἀναρρηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα συμφέ-
ροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ 15
ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προ-
τρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον
ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον
τούτου ἡ πόλις γέγραπεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν
νόμον λαβών.

20

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

[Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν
στεφάνων ποιέσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν
μὴ τις ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοί· τού-
τους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

121 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς,
 πλὴν ἐάν τις ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται·
 τούτους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε,
 συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ
 5 ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνει φθό-
 νου δίκην εἰσάγων, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ
 νόμους τοὺς μὲν μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη,
 οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς γε ὁμο-
 122 μοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι; ἔπειτα
 10 τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ,
 ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, εἰτ'
 οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζό-
 μενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγ-
 μασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γινωσκομένους. καὶ
 15 βοᾷς ῥήτᾳ καὶ ἄρρητᾳ ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης,
 123 ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι
 καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν
 κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν
 κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὃν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν
 20 αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἧς κατὰ
 τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαί-
 νει λέγειν. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ
 τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπέιληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς
 εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγω-
 25 μεν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, ἐάν τις ἡδίκη-
 124 κῶς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς
 Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ

κατηγορεῖν εἵλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνῃ, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρόν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῆ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. εἴτα οὐ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην, κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ ἡδίκουν, ἐξέλιπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσειςιν· οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῶος ἅπασι, τοῖς 125 νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγ-
χθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλεόν ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦς, ἐμὸς δὲ προσποιῇ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἢ μὲν εὐσεβῆς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος 126 ἅπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὥς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλο-
λοίδορον ὄντα φύσει, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφη-
μίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τὰ-
ναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων ῥαδίως οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ 127 λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγγασθαι; — εἰ
γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεὺς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τοιαυτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' 128 ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ

τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλού-
μενον, ἥ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχροῦ διαγιγνώσκεται·
128 ταῦτα γὰρ δῆπουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. σοὶ
δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἥ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἥ
5 καλῶν ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς
ἀξιοθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἥς
τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἴποι
περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρου λέγον-
τος ἐρυθρίασκει, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν ὥσπερ
10 σὺ, προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς
ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν
τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

129 Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὃ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰ-
πεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ
15 σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησεΐῳ
διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύ-
λον, ἥ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ σου τοῖς μεθήμερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ
κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἡρωϊ χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν
ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε;
20 ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα, καὶ ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω. ἀλλ'
ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου
δούλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐρ-
γασίας; ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ
περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσή-
130 κοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα
αὖ μὲν οὖν ἑάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν
ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος

καταράται. ὁψὲ γάρ ποτε —, ὁψὲ λέγω; χθὲς
 μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε,
 καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ
 Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμ-
 νῶς πῖνυ Γλαυκοθέαν ὠνόμασεν, ἣν Ἐμπουσαν, 5
 ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ
 πᾶσχειν δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν. 131
 πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὁμως οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ
 καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ
 πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονὼς οὐχ 10
 ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν
 κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύει. καὶ περὶ ὧν μὲν ἔστι τις
 ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν,
 εἰσώ· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερώς ἀπεδείχθη
 πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω. 15

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἀντι- 132
 φῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρή-
 σειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμ-
 μένον ἐν Πειραιεὶ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-
 σίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ κεκραγὼς, ὡς ἐν 20
 δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πολι-
 τῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσμα-
 τος, ἀφέθηναι ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐξ 133
 Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέ-
 ραν ἄγνοϊαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπε- 25
 ζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανήγαγεν
 ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦ-

ναι διαδὺς ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου του-
 τοῦ· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπεκτεί-
 134 νατε, ὥς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα
 ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ' Ἀρείου πάγου τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα,
 5 χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ πολλὰ
 προέσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὥς προσείλεσθε κἀκείνην καὶ
 τοῦ πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς
 ἀπήλασεν ὥς προδότην, Ὑπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέ-
 10 ταξε· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον
 ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μαρῶ τούτῳ.
 135 Καὶ ὅτι ταύτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κύλει μοι τούτων τοὺς
 μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ πάντων οἶδε, Καλλίας Σου-
 νιεύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεὺς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος,
 ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Λισχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες
 ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
 λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὑπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου λέγοντος ἀπήλασεν ἡ βουλὴ
 15 καὶ προσέταξεν ἐτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ
 κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.
 136 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ
 νεανίου τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατη-
 γορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμινθήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα
 20 Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν

αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὥς ἐν αἰσχύνη ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικούσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προῦδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικούντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τὰναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' 137 ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιὼν εἰς τὴν 11 Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνῆει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ 15 λέγω, κύλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερείδης Καλλαίσχρον, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἶδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὗται ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἐκατομβαιῶνος τρίτῃ ἱσταμένου.]

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παρα- 138 λείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἂν ἐγὼ

ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δείξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς
 χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν, ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεί-
 ζων εὐρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς
 ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ δεδώ-
 5 κατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλο-
 μένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκε-
 λίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις
 ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλ-
 λαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾶόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον αἰεὶ
 10 τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ
 ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

139 Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώς συνα-
 γωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μὲν, ὧ γῇ καὶ θεοῖ, πῶς
 γὰρ οὐ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε,
 15 δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ
 πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητη-
 σίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος, ὃ
 τι μὲν πῶποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος
 20 ἰαμβειοφάγος, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δείξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε
 μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ
 τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει. εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω
 ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι
 δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττο-
 25 μένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότε ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν
 παρὰ ταύθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζη-
 τοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἥνίκα 140
ἐργάσασθαι τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν
ἐτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἐδύναθ', ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λαυθάνειν· ἐν δ'
ἐπεξεργάσατο, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον δ' πᾶσι 5
τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς
ἀνῆλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν
διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τὰ ληθές. τὸ δ'
οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψει σὺ
τάκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ ἔρεῖς. 10

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς 141
θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι
τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθειον, ὃς πα-
τρῶός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις,
εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἵπομι καὶ εἶπον τότ' εὐθύς 15
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μιᾶρον
τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνω γὰρ, εὐθέως
ἔγνω), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ
πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἔνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω
τούτῳ ψευδῇ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με 20
ποιῆσαι.

Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπῆραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὕτως 142
σφοδρῶς; ὅτι καὶ γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ
κεείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς
τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύοντας, ἐκείνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ 25
τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος ἐλάτ-
των· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους

Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῇ δεῦρ' ἀπαγ-
 143 γείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς
 Ἑλλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος καὶ δι' ὃν ἤρέθη τῶν
 Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμῶν, ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν
 5 Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πᾶν-
 των εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότε
 εὐθύς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ “πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχί-
 νη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν” οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλή-
 10 σεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἶπον με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύ-
 μαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπύγιν
 144 με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἥτις δ' ἡ φύσις, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος
 ἕνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν
 15 ἀκούσατε, ἐπεὶ δὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα
 συντεθεὶν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστο-
 ρίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ
 θεύσεσθε.

145 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλ-
 20 λαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς
 ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει. ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως
 καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούν-
 των αὐτῷ ὁμῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν
 ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν
 25 ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἰσήγετο ὧν
 146 ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τότε κρείττων
 ὑμῶν οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετ-

ταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θηβαίων διέντων· συνέ-
βαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὅποιουσ-
δήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό
γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
ἐκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' 147
ἔχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπεί- 6
θοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδένα ἡγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ
τὸν νοῦν· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λι-
βὼν ἡγεμὼν αἰρεθῇ, ῥᾶον ἤλπιζε τὰ μὲν παρακρού-
σασθαι, τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' 10
ὥς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ
τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχὴν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθύς αὐτοὺς
ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο 148
ἢ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν
ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ 15
πράγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θεττα-
λοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἢ
καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν,
εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' 149
ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ προει- 20
δότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ
εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι, προβληθεὶς
πυλάγορας οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονη-
σάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως
ἄξιωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, 25
πάντα τᾶλλ' ἀφείς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέραινε ἐφ' οἷς
ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους,

ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεῖς καὶ διε-
 150 ξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ
 προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι
 περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν
 5 αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς
 χώρας ἡτιᾶτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν
 ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂ νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται,
 λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκείθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν
 ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς
 10 δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλή-
 τευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα,
 δεῖξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κεῖν προφάσει
 151 ταύτη κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. περιμόντων τοίνυν τὴν
 χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν
 15 τούτου, προσπесόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ μὲν κατη-
 κόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν
 ἱερομνημόνων. ὥς δ' ἄπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα
 καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ
 μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων
 20 ἤγαγε στρατιάν, ὥς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ'
 ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν πυλαίαν
 ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθύς ἡγεμόνα ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευ-
 ασμένοι καὶ πάλοι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν
 152 ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι. καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους
 25 εἰλήφεσαν· ἥ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέ-
 φειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦν-
 τας, ἥ ἐκείνον αἰρεῖσθαι· τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν;

ἤρεθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐ-
 θέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν
 Κιρραίαν, ἐρρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ
 Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν οὖν 153
 μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι 5
 καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν
 τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσε· νῦν δὲ
 τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι, μάλιστα μὲν,
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
 εἴτα μέντοι καὶ, ὅσον καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. 10
 δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν
 οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πρᾶγματα
 ἢ μιὰ κεφαλὴ ταραξάσα αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκε.
 λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα. 154

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυ-
 λαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ
 τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελ-
 θεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλα-
 βεῖν τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ
 ἐπιβαίνειν.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυ- 155
 λαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ
 τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν
 κατανεμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμονται, καὶ κωλύ-

μνοι τοῦτο ποιῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασι, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῇ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιῖδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν αὐτός. λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

[Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μνηὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα.]

156 Δὸς δὴ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπῆκουον οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
 5 συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῇτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιῖν προσεποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ τὰς
 10 ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. λέγε.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

157 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 1 συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀξυ-

λαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τετταράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστώτος μηνὸς λφου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανήμου. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα [τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις] ἐπιζημίους. εὐνυχίτε.]

Ῥοᾶθ' ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς 158
δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα
συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύ-
τας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων
μάλιστα αἷτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοῖνυν λέγετε, ὡς
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιιόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα
πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ'
ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις, ὡς γῆ
καὶ θεοί· ὧν εἰς οὕτωσιν, ὅν, εἰ μὴδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα 159
τάληθες εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν
ἀλιτῆριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων
εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα
παρασχὼν, οὗτος τῶν φύντων αἷτιος. ὃν ὅπως
ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθύς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε θαυμάζω.
πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν 16
πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοῖνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος 160
τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναν-

τιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν
 μὲν ἔνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι
 αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ
 ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ
 161 τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θη-
 6 βαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου
 φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέρους, ὃ μὲν
 ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμε-
 νον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας
 10 καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ
 τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἐτοιμῶς ἔχοντας, ὅπως
 τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ὑπὸ
 τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπο-
 163 λαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὐ-
 15 βουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύ-
 την τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις
 ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας αἰεί.
 οὓς σὺ ζῶντας μὲν, ὧ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκο-
 λούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἃ
 20 γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾶς ἐμοὶ, ἐκείνων πολὺ
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ
 163 ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκέισε
 ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τούτου μὲν
 ποιήσαντος, συμπεριναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
 25 συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη
 τὸν Φιλίππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐπερ ἔνεκα τὰς
 πόλεις οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν

μικρὸν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἐδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι τὴν ἔχθραν. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. Καὶ μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.

5

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφροβολιῶνος ἕκτη φθί- 164
ροντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατη-
γῶν γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἄς μὲν κατεῖλθε πόλεις τῶν
ἀστυγαιόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμε-
τέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν
εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ
καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ δια-
λέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς
ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρὸς τὸ
βουλεύεσθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποι-
ήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαρρηλιῶνος μηνός. ἤρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς
βουλῆς Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας
Ἀλωπεκήθεν.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μουρυχιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, 165
πολεμάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θη-
βαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστήσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ
καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς
παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχού-
σας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι
πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρα-
καλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως

ὁ δῆμος βουλευέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἤρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κῆρυξ Εὐνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

166 Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἶχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιέισθε προσκαλίσασθαι βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἱσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστελλαντες ὑμεῖς πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτοιμός εἰμι ποιέσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλευόντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.]

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

167 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἔκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀνακεοῦσθε καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὄντως ἐμοὶ ποιείτε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσαι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπα-

κολουθεῖν γνώμῃς, ἤσθην καὶ μάλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευέσασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οὔσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπὴν, εἴαν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλή- 168
 λας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφί-
 μασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἤκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν
 καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γέ-
 νοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. 5
 ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον
 ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες· μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ
 τὰναγκαιότατα.

Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἤκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς 169
 τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἑλλάτεια κατεῖληπται. καὶ μετὰ 10
 ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες
 τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεΐρ-
 γον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατη-
 γοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν·
 καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὕστεραία 13
 ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν
 εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκεῖνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προ-
 βουλευσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ 170
 ταῦτα ὡς εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυ- 20
 τάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἦκοντα
 παρήγαγον κακείνος εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ “τίς

ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;” παρῆει δ’ οὐδεῖς. πολλάκις
 δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ’
 οὐδεῖς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων,
 ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος
 5 τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἐρῶνθ’ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ
 ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην
 171 κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καί-
 τοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους
 παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθη-
 10 ναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες
 γὰρ οἶδ’ ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς
 πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρω
 ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνοὺς τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ
 172 ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλαις ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ
 15 εὐνοία καὶ πλοῦτος τοῦτ’ ἐποίησαν· ἀλλ’ ὥς ἔοικεν,
 ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὐνοὺν
 καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθη-
 κότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμέ-
 νον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτ’ ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος
 20 καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ’ εἰδὼς μηδ’ ἐξη-
 τακῶς πόρρωθεν ἐπιμελῶς, οὔτ’ εἰ εὐνοὺς ἦν οὔτ’ εἰ
 πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν
 173 εἴσεσθαι οὐδ’ ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλευεῖν. ἐφάνην
 τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ, καὶ παρελθὼν
 25 εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ’ ἀκούσατε προσ-
 σχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐνὸς μὲν, ἵν’ εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν
 λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας

τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ
 γράφων ἐξηταζόμεν τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς
 τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἐτέρου δὲ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες
 χρόνον πολλῶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας
 ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι “τοὺς μὲν 174
 ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμέ- 6
 νους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ' ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ
 οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐ-
 τὸν ἡκούομεν ἐν Ἑλατείᾳ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμε-
 τέροις ὀρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἴν' ἔτοιμα ποιήσῃται τὰ 10
 ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. ὡς δ' ἔχει” 175
 ἔφην “ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ πεί-
 σαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατήσαι ἐνὴν, ἅπαντας
 ἡντρέπισται· τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ
 καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πείσαι δύναται. τί 15
 οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα τὴν Ἑλάτειαν κατεί-
 ληφεν; πλησίον δυνάμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ
 ὄπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς
 ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους καταπλῆξαι, ἴν' ἢ
 συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἃ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ 20
 βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς” 176
 ἔφην “ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται
 Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνήσθαι καὶ ἀπισ-
 τεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὔσι μερίδι, πρῶ-
 τον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὖξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἴτα 25
 φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκό-
 των αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων

εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφοτέρω. ἂν μέντοι
 πεισθῇτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλο-
 νεικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ
 δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεσθηκότα κίνδυνον
 177 τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. τί οὖν φημί δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν
 6 τὸν παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἴτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ
 φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολλὴ γὰρ τῶν
 δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς
 ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσινάδε
 10 τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις
 φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παρρη-
 σιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, εἰδόσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς
 πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἢ βοηθή-
 15 σουσα δύνάμεις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς
 178 ἔτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετ', εἴαν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. μετὰ
 ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ
 ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ
 20 τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκείσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπει-
 δὲν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρή-
 σασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνν μοι
 προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν
 (αἰσχυρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοη-
 25 θήσειν, ἂν κελεύωσιν, ὥς ἐκείνων μὲν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς
 ἐσχατοῖς, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ κείνοι τὸ μέλλον προ-
 ορωμένων· ἵν' εἴαν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶ-

σιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὤμεν διφκημένοι καὶ μετὰ
 προσχήματος ἄξιου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν,
 ἂν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτοῖς
 ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἂν τι νῦν ἑξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν
 αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον.” Ταῦτα 179
 καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. συνεπαι- 6
 νεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον
 οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ, οὐδ'
 ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα
 μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς 10
 διὰ πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ'
 ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιστηκότας τῇ πό-
 λει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε
 γενόμενον.

Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἑμαν- 180
 τὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἑμαυτὸν 16
 μὲν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσῃς,
 Βάτταλον, σέ δὲ μηδ' ἥρω τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τού-
 των τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέ-
 οντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτὲ Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ὑποκρι- 20
 νόμενος ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοῖνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν
 καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ
 Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πα-
 τρίδι. σὺ μὲν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα·
 ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, 25
 ἔπραττον. Δέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

- 181 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντί-
δος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους
Παιωνίους εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν τε
τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας
αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἄνθρωπον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης,
ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι νομιζό-
μενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προση-
κούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὖσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν
οὐδὲν προαδικηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐν τε τῷ
- 182 παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺν προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὁμότητι. καὶ γὰρ
Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας
καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς
ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ
καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυ-
τοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ
κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλεησμένος ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ
- 183 τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις
ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν
ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι·
νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζόμενας, τὰς δὲ
ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγείται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς
τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιωρᾶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταδουλουμέ-
- 184 νους. διὸ δεδᾶσθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, εὐξα-
μένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν
πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν
προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας
ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν
ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἱππαρχον τὰς
πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἑλευσινάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμ-
ψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, πρῶτον

δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιπ- 185
πον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν κατα-
πλαγέοντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς
τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος,
οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πό-
λεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ
βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐταῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμ-
φισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐσιν Ἑλλησι καλὸν, ὑπὸ δὲ
ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστε-
ρεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν
προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθη- 186
ναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ
ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμνησκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν
ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς
Ἑρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς
πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντι-
βαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἑρακλέους ἐγγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδί-
πουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα
πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλόφρονος καὶ ἐνδοξοῦ πρὸς Θηβαίους·
διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίων 187
τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς
αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὅρκους δοῦναι
καὶ λαβεῖν. πρίσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς,
Ἑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους
Φριάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχος Διο-
τίμου Κοθωκίδης.]

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ 188
καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν
καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ
τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει
περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ 5

νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε
 δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν
 189 ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης,
 οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν εὐκότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλείστον
 5 ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμά-
 των γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύ-
 θυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ
 βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ συγῆσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι
 190 δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν,
 10 ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος
 ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ
 τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιούμεαι ὥστε, ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις
 δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλην ὧν
 ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ
 15 τι τις νῦν εὐρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθὲν,
 τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι
 μήτε ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμε-
 ρον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινο-
 191 μένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι; τοῦτο
 20 τοίνυν ἐποίησα ἐγὼ, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχί-
 νη, "τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται," οὐ "τίς αἰτιάσθαι
 περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων," οὐδὲ "τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ
 μέλλοντ' ἔσσεσθαι." σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους
 τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ
 25 παριῶν ἔλεγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δείξον.
 εἰπέ τις ἢ λόγος, ὅντιν' ἐχρῆν εὔρεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς
 συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ

συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;

Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς αἰὲ παρὰ πᾶσιν 193
ἀφείται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθῃσιν οὐδαμοῦ
βουλὴν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβού- 5
λου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἔμελλεν, ὡς
ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν
προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμ-
βάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρασ, ὡς ἂν ὁ
δαίμων βουλευθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις 10
αὐτῇ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. μὴ δὲ τοῦτο 198
ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ
τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ
ἐν ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώ- 15
πινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπι-
μελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς
οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησά-
μην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δείξον, καὶ τότε ἤδη
κατηγόρει μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον 194
ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μεί- 20
ζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον
πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα, καὶ πᾶσι κατασκευά-
σαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ᾧ ὑπελάμβανε σωθῆσεσθαι,
εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ
τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας 25
αἰτιῶτο. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν
ἂν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγὼ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης

195 κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο
 λογίζου καὶ ὅρα, εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομέ-
 νοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πράξαι, τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν, εἰ
 μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππων
 5 προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότε ἐκείνος πάσας ἀφῆκε φω-
 νάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
 ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ
 φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας
 ταῦτό τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἄρ'
 10 οἷσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στήναι, συναλθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι,
 πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς
 σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ' —, οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἃ
 γε μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίας καὶ τῷ προ-
 βαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ
 15 κατηγορεῖς.

196 Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι, τὰ πολλὰ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
 ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν
 καὶ ἀκρωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον τὸν κατὰ-
 πτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν
 20 γὰρ ἦν σοὶ πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῃ
 τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων,
 τότε ἔδει προλέγειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς
 ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον
 197 ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον
 25 γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ'
 ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὐπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι)
 ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα

συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ἀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπο-
 λογισόμενος, σὺ δὲ οὐθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίῳ τούτων
 (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο), οὐτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσι-
 μον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότα-
 τος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο 5
 πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ ἅμα
 Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ
 καθύπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρί-
 νουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους
 κατηγορεῖ. καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχή- 198
 ματα ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον 11
 οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ
 συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως
 ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὖνον εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι.
 δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύει 15
 καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύει. πράττεται τι τῶν ὑμῖν
 δοκούντων συμφέρειν, ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέ-
 κρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἶον οὐκ ἔδει, πάρεστιν
 Αἰσχίνης· ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπᾶσματα,
 ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται. 20

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βού- 199
 λομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς
 καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ'
 εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρό-
 δηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν πάντες, 25
 καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου βῶων
 καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον

τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ
 200 μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. νῦν μὲν γε ἀποτυ-
 χεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν
 ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξι-
 5 οῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἀποστᾶσα τού-
 του, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν.
 εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προείτο ἀκουεῖν, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυ-
 νον ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέ-
 201 πτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ.
 10 τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν
 πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ
 κύριος ἡρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν
 15 πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν
 τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ
 202 τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἡρημένης. τίς γὰρ
 οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ
 Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυ-
 20 ρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περ-
 σῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμέ-
 νως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὃ τι βούλεται λαβούσης καὶ τὰ
 ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσης τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἔαν ἕτερον
 203 τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὥς
 25 ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ'
 ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἐδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ
 παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι τοὺς ἰσχύουσι μὲν, μὴ

δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέ- 204
ροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἡ
προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μύλιστ' ἐπαινείτε,
εἰκότως. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν
ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἱ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν
ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ
τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμ- 10
βουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν
δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις
Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκ' αὐτοῦ. οὐ 205
γὰρ ἐξήτουν οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε ἡ
στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
ζῆν ἡξίουں, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο
ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ
καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρί- 20
δι. διαφέρει δὲ τίς; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον
γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν
αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσιν ἀποθνή-
σκεν ἐθέλῃσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς
ὑβρεῖς καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει 25
φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὥς ἐγὼ 206

προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ'
 ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν
 ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ
 δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ
 5 πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πε-
 207πραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναί φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν
 ὄλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν
 ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς
 τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερῆσαι γλίσχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς
 10 ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖ-
 ται. εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμέ-
 νου τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ
 τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν.
 208ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες
 15 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ
 σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι
 προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλα-
 ταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυ-
 μαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς
 20 ἐτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους
 ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς
 αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνῃ, οὐχὶ τοὺς
 κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μό-
 νους. δικαίως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν
 25 ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται· τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ δαίμων
 209ἐνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηται. ἔπειτ', ὧ κατὰ-
 ρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ

τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερηῆσαι βουλόμε-
νος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὧν
τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρὼν ἄγων οὐτοσί; ἐμὲ δὲ, ὃ
τριταγωνιστὰ, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον
τῇ πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀνα- 5
βαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια 210
ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μὲντ' ἂν ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς,
ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τάς
τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ
μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων 10
νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαι-
ρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέπον-
τας. καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ
τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν
ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίσητε κρινούν- 15
τες, εἴπερ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

Ἄλλα γὰρ ἐμπесὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς 211
προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην
καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν εἰς
ταῦτ' ἐξέβην, βούλομαι. 20

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνο-
μεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμά-
χων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους
φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ'
οὐκ οὖν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἐμαντῶ 25
λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότε ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθύς
οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτη γ' ὑπερβολὴ συκο- 212

φαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται ὥστ', εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων
ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγε-
νῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἑτέρως συμβίωντων ἀπάντων ἐμέ
καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι. καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ
5 σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ
τοῦ βουλευσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ συν-
αίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν
στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς
ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος ;
10 λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

213 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσ-
ῆγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων
τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν
πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν
15 κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε
Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον,
ἡξίουν ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐ-
τοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν,
ὅποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ
20 συνεμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς
ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς
Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰλλ'
ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἡξοῦντα, ἐκ δὲ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν
ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ
25 τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς

ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς 214
πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντείπομεν, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ
μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου,
ὕμᾱς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθόντων τῶν καιρῶν,
ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγ- 5
μάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων
λόγους νομίσσητε· ὃ τι δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ
ἃ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγει ταυτὶ λαβὼν.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖνυν ἐκάλουν ὕμᾱς καὶ μετεπέμ- 215
ποντο. ἐξήτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω, 10
οὕτως οἰκείως ὕμᾱς ἐδέχοντο ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ
δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ
τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' 15
ὕμῶν τὰ κύλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιο-
σύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα
μεθ' ὕμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ὕμᾱς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι
καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν ὕμᾱς ἔκριναν
Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν 20
πλείστη φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὧν
ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὕμῶν ἔχοντες
ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ γ' 216
ὕμᾱς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν
πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὔδεὶς οὐδὲν 25

οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρονας πα-
 ρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δῖς τε συμπαραταξιόμενοι
 τὰς πρώτας μάχας, τήν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν
 χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ
 5 καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευ-
 αῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων
 ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ
 217 πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην
 Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς
 10 καὶ ἐπαίνων ἢ πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθιγε
 καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ
 στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι
 καθήτο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρὴν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξη-
 τάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ
 15 ὧν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυ-
 ρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφί-
 σασθαι τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας τοὺς θεούς; εἰ δὲ μὴ
 παρὴν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλακίς ἐστὶ δίκαιος,
 εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὁρῶν;
 20 Δέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

218 Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἤμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι
 δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιεισθη-
 κει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπρατ-
 τον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἐτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ'
 25 ἐμοί. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἷας τότε ἡφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος

καὶ ἐν οἷς ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβὼν, ἵν' εἰδῇτε ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ τάλαιπωρίαί καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργά-
σατο.

Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγό-
νασι ῥήτορες ἐνδοξοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλ-
λίστρατος ἐκείνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύ-
βουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε το-
ούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει,
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσ-
βεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος
ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥαστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀνα-
φοράν. τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἂν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας
τοὺς ἄλλους ῥώμῃ καὶ τόλμῃ ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; 16
οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπίεσμην μέγαν εἶναι
τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδόκει
μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοϊαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας
διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παραλιπὼν 20
τις ἂν δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπίεσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, 221
τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπίεσμην, μήτε
γρύφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε
πρώττοντα πράξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεύσαι
προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πα- 25
σιν ἑμαυτὸν ἔταπτον. Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολάς τὰς τοῦ
Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

222 Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἢ ἐμὴ πολιτεία,
 Αἰσχίνῃ· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκείνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς
 καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος
 λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ του-
 5 τωνι, καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος
 Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καὶ
 μοι λέγε ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπε-
 φευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

223 Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς
 10 αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτ' ῥήματ' ἔχει ἅπερ πρότε-
 ρον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφε
 οὕτως. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὕτ' ἐδίδωκεν αὐτὸς οὕτε
 τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν
 Δημομέλην τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερείδην,
 15 εἴπερ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἢ εἰκότως
 224 ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίδωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε μὲν ἔστ' ἀνε-
 νεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώ-
 σεῖς καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέναι
 ταῦτ' ἀποφάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νυνὶ, καὶ τὸ τοὺς
 20 νόμους μηκέτ' εἶναι περὶ τῶν οὕτωπραχθέντων κατη-
 γορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα· τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ'
 ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν.
 225 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, τότε, ὃ νυνὶ ποιεῖ, ἐκ παλαιῶν

χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα ἃ μῆτε
 προήδει μηδεις μήτ' ἂν ᾤθη τήμερον ῥηθῆναι δια-
 βύλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προ-
 φάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς
 πεπραγμένοις δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, 226
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνη- 6
 μένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα
 ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς
 παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὼν νῦν ἦκει,
 ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ 10
 τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσῃν ὑμᾶς, καὶ
 λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος
 ἔσεσθαι.

Εἵτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν, ἥς μὲν 227
 οἰκοθεν ἦκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελήσαι, 13
 ὥσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῃ λο-
 γίζῃσθε, ἂν καθαραὶ ὦσιν αἱ ψήφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ,
 συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομέ-
 νοις προσθέσθαι. θεύσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρὸν, ὡς
 ἔοικεν, ἔστι φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ᾗ πεπραγ- 20
 μένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγ- 228
 ματος ὁμολόγηκε νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους
 ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ
 Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐξήτει μὴ
 τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ 23
 ἑκατέρου. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέ- 229
 σθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ

τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων
οὗτος λογισμός), ἀλλ' ἀναμνησκῶν ἕκαστα ἐν
βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούου-
230 σιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἥς οὗτος
κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίου μετὰ Φιλίππου
συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾤοντο, μεθ'
ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκείνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν,
ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἑπτα-
κόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν
10 ὁρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέ-
ρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττι-
κὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντὶ δὲ
τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα
Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν
231 πρὸς ἐκείνων. ἄρά σοι ψήφοις ὁμοῖος ὁ τῶν ἔργων
λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἡ δὲ ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ'
οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέ-
ψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὀμό-
τητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη
20 Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη,
τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων
ἐκείνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποι-
οῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα.

232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν
25 ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκο-
φαντεῖν, οὐκ ἂν οἶα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγο-
ρεῖ, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχή-

ματα μιμούμενος (πάνν γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς ;
 γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ
 μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγὼ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ
 μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων 233
 ἂν ἐσκόπει τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλεις καὶ τίνας
 δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῆιν, καὶ τίνας
 συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγὼ, καὶ πῶς
 εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. εἰτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα
 τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυνεν ὄν, εἰ
 δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ 10
 σὺ τοῦτο πέφηνγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ
 δικαίως χρῆσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, 234
 οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ
 Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· 15
 χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα
 τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα· ὀπλίτην δ'
 ἢ ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. ὁ δὲ πάντων
 καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν,
 οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας 20
 ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρέας, Θηβαίους,
 Εὐβοέας. τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, 235
 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν·
 τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν,
 σκέψασθε πῶς. πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολου- 25
 θούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν, ὁ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλε-
 μον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων· εἰθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὄπλα

εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αἰεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων ἡπόρει,
 καὶ ἔπραττεν ἃ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς
 ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος,
 [οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος,] οὐδὲ
 5 γραφὰς φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὦν
 οὐδενὶ, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμὼν, κύριος
 236 πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος
 (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνας κύριος ἦν;
 οὐδενός· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὐ μόνου
 10 μετεῖχον ἐγὼ, ἐξ ἴσου προϋτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ'
 ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοὶ, καὶ ὅσα οὗτοι περι-
 γένοιοντο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν
 ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 237 ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλατ-
 15 τωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας,
 Ἀχαιοὺς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκα-
 δίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισ-
 χίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν
 δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δὲ ὅσων ἐδυνήθη
 238 ἐγὼ πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ
 21 πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαν-
 τίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἰσων νυνὶ
 διαλέγει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων,
 25 τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἢ πό-
 λιν παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ
 κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντας οὐδὲ ἀγα-

νακτούσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐωρᾶτο (αἰσχρὸν γὰρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι περιστάντος αὐτῇ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. εἰτα κενὰς 239 χαρίζει χάριτας τουτοισὶ συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα ἐχρῆν πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ὧν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἐβουλόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπε- 10 λαννομένους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἔτοιμος.

Ἄλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας 240 ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότε ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου, ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο 15 Φιλίππου, καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὥς ἐξεδόθησαν; οὐχ ὥς ἀπηλάθησαν βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; 241 εἰτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρα- 20 τῆς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὁμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὀρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν; οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλὰ γε πρὸς 25 τούτοις ἕτερα; πονηρὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονη- 242 ρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον

καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τὰνθρώ-
πιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποικὸς οὐδ'
ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνό-
μαος, παρύσημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἢ σὴ δεινότης εἰς
5 ὄνησιν ἤκει τῇ πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν
243 παρεληλυθότων; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενούσι
μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι
δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξονται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτή-
σειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμεν' αὐτῷ φέροίτο, ἀκο-
10 λουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα διεξίει “εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν
ἄνθρωπος οὐτοσὶ, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν.” ἐμβρόντητε,
εἶτα νῦν λέγεις;

244 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἤτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾶς ἐφ'
ἧ στένειν σε, ὧ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν
15 παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὕτως δὲ
λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς
ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν
παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ
ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρα-
20 κῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδα-
μόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρα-
τηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς
245 ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς
παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλα-
25 κίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν
ἓνα ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις;
τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε

ἐκίστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμέ-
νων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας·
οὕτω σκαῖος εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὦν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυν- 246
νος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λάμβανε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι.
τίνα οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα 5
καὶ προαισθῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα
πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτήτας,
ὄκνους, ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι
πρόσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦθ'
ὥς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι, καὶ τὸναντίον εἰς ὁμό- 10
νοϊαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν
προτρεψαί. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποιήται, καὶ
οὐδεὶς μήποθ' εὖρη τὸ κατ' ἐμέ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν.
εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιτο ὄντινούν τίσι τὰ πλείστα Φίλιπ- 247
πος ὦν κατέπραξε διωκῆσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ 15
στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ
τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύ-
ριος οὐθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγὼ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ
ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρή-
ναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ γὰρ 20
ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, εἰς πρίηται, οὕτως
ὁ μὴ λαβὼν μηδὲ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνούμενον.
ὥστε ἀήττητος ἢ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως 248
τοιαῦτα γράφειν τουτονὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς 25
ἐτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν· ἃ δ'
οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν

μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑορακῶς πάντα ὅσα
 ἔπραττον ἐγὼ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς
 ἐμβεβηκῶς, ἥνικ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι θανμαστὸν
 ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτη-
 5 ρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ
 πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἢ διάταξις
 τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα,
 διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγένετο· ἔπειθ' αἰρού-
 μενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος.
 249 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς
 11 ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα
 ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον,
 ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι
 (ἴστε γὰρ δῆπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρῶτους χρό-
 15 νους κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγὼ, καὶ
 οὐτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκρά-
 τους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὐτ' ἄλλ'
 οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοῖσιν
 τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεύτερον
 20 δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμην.
 δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ὁμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὖορκα δικαστῶν.
 250 οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ
 μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ
 25 μετεδίδοτε, τότε ἔψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστα με πράττειν·
 ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν
 καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας

ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα πεπραχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων τί προσῆκεν ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα, οὐχ ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἐώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὃ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστὰς, οὐχ ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιούσαν;

Ναὶ, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν, τὸ 251 μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φυγεῖν. καὶ νῆ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλακὶς μὲν φυγὼν, μηδεπώποτε 10 δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρὸς γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφὴν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὁμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι 15 τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμο- 252 σύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὧν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόη- 20 τον ἡγοῦμαι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς 25 ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ

- 253 περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν
 μὲν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ'
 ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ἡμῖν μαντευόμενον,
 τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει,
 5 χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινὴν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρ-
 βάρων οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπειράται ;
- 254 τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν
 οἰθηέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ πρόοιτο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ
 διάξειν, τούτων αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς
 10 τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦ-
 σαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὥς ἐβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι
 τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ'
 255 ἡμᾶς μέρος μετεिल्φέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ'
 ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν
 15 τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν
 οὖν οὕτως περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως,
 ὥς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν
 τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν
 εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ
 20 μεγάλης. καὶ πῶς ἔνι τούτῳ γενέσθαι ;
- 256 Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν,
 Αἰσχίνῃ, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σεαυτοῦ σκόπει, καὶ
 εὐρῆς τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίῳ τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδοροῦμε-
 νος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καί μου
 25 πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδεῖς.
 ἐγὼ γὰρ οὗτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν
 ἡγοῦμαι, οὗτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ

σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιοῦτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρῆσομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπήρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ μὲν 251
 ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεία, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρή τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχροὺν ποιήσονται δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τοίτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμίας φιλοτιμίας μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλὰκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς 13
 οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἂ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχη, καὶ πόλλ' 258
 ἂν ἔχων ἕτερόν τι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαί τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει 20
 πρὸς ταύτην ποίᾳ τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχη, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τύξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, 25
 ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους 259
 ἀνεγίγνωσκας καὶ τᾶλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν

νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς
 τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύ-
 ροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν
 “ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον,” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώ-
 5 ποτε τηλικούτ’ ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος (καὶ ἔγωγε
 νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἶεσθ’ αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω
 260 μέγα, ὀλολύξειν δ’ οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς
 ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν,
 τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς
 10 ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰω-
 ρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὑῆς ἄττης
 ἄττης ὑῆς, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμῶν καὶ κιστοφόρος καὶ
 λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευό-
 μενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπ-
 15 τοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ’ οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὥς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν
 261 εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ’ εἰς
 τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφησ ὅπως δὴ ποτε ἐῷ γὰρ τοῦτό
 γε, ἐπειδὴ δ’ οὖν ἐνεγράφησ, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον
 ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν
 20 τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὥς δ’ ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου,
 πάνθ’ ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ
 κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί’ οὐδὲν τῶν προὔπηργμένων τῷ
 262 μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυ-
 στόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύλῳ
 25 καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ
 ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
 χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων τραύματα ἢ τῶν

ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ
 ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πό-
 λεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως τοὺς
 ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπ-
 τεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεῖς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' 263
 ἂν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιούμαι κατη- 6
 γορήματα. τοιαύτην γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ
 ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχού-
 σης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ βίον ἔξης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέ-
 μων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγῇσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαιτῶ 10
 συνῆδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἡτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς
 ὧν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὦψαι. καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν 264
 ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζών-
 των δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων
 περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ ὅσ' ἂν δείξαιμι προσ- 15
 όντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνειδῆ, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς
 λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοι βε- 265
 βιωμένα, πρῶως, μὴ πικρῶς, Δίσχινη· εἰτ' ἐρώτη-
 σον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἔλοιθ' ἕκαστος 20
 αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. ἐτέ-
 λεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐχόρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορή-
 γουν. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησίαζον. ἐτρι-
 ταγωνίστηκες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ'
 ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, 25
 ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ 266
 τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζο-

μαι, τὸ δὲ μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις δὲ εἶτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαμβάντα τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθὴ γ', οὐχ ὅρας; τύχῃ συμβεβιωκὼς τῆς ἐμῆς ὡς φαύλης κατηγορεῖς.

267 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, ὧν λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ. παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου,

10 ἤκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
καὶ

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,
καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοὶ, ἔπειτα οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολέτην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.

15 Δέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

268 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρ-
20 τυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων
269 οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπέιληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνήσθαι πάντα τὸν χρό-

νον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ, τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπείλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγείς ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν 10 ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ σοὶ τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάξῃς βούλει πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν 271 μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνῇ ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἀπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων 20 χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἷαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι. σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφείς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπο- 272 λιτευμένον αἰτιά, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν 25 αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἢ ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ αἰτιάσθαι. εἰ 273

δὲ παρήτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις, αἰὲ δ'
 ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλις προνύθει σκοπεῖν,
 πᾶσι δὲ ταύτ' ἐδόκει τότ' ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα
 σοὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων
 5 καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἀ πᾶντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε
 πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμε-
 νος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον),
 πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκα-
 274 λῶν ὧν τότ' οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίῳ; παρὰ μὲν
 10 τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διω-
 ρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ τις
 ἐκὼν, ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ
 τις ἄκων, συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ.
 οὗτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὗτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι
 15 δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δούς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ'
 ἀπάντων; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ τοι-
 275 ούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθυσθαι. φανήσεται ταῦτα
 πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ
 φύσις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπί-
 20 νοις ἔθεσι διώρικεν. Δισχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον
 ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὁμότητι καὶ
 συκοφαντίᾳ ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων
 ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταύτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.
 276 Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ
 25 μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν
 ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι
 μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν

καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἂν πρότερός τις εἶπη
τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως
ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς
ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι
γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον
ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι. καὶ κείνο εὖ οἶδ' 277
ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα—ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἔγωγ'
ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ
πλείστον κυρίους· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξασθε καὶ
πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε 10
φρονεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία
τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς
ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν
οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου τούναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦ- 15
τον ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ
αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ᾧ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρήται.
οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτ' ἄλλο 278
οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ
τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς 20
ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς
εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ
φύσει, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πρῶως καὶ μετρίως διακεί-
μεν' ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολι-
τευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι 25
κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναν-
τίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ γενηαῖου

279 καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος πώ-
 ποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ μηδ' ἰδίου, δίκην
 ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
 μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορία
 5 ἥκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσούτους λόγους ἀνη-
 λωκέναι ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας
 ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ
 τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἔασαντα νῦν ἐπὶ
 280 τόνδ' ἥκειν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖς
 10 ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπίδειξιν τινα καὶ φω-
 νασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι
 τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν.
 ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον,
 οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα προαιρεῖ-
 15 σθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ
 281 φιλεῖν οὐσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν
 ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ
 πόλις προορᾶταί τινα κίνδυνον ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θερα-
 πεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐκουν
 20 οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσδοκίαν.
 ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς; ἐγώ· ταῦτα γὰρ συμφέρονθ' εἰλόμην
 τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποιήμαι.
 282 ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὃς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν
 μάχην πρεσβευτῆς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν
 25 τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ
 πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε
 χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν. καί-

τοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἂ
 φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ κήρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ
 τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μείζον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα
 κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτ' αὖ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει;
 σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὐρέθης. εἶτα σὺ φθέγγει καὶ βλέ- 283
 πειν εἰς τὰ τουτωνὶ πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ ὁ
 ἡγεῖ γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἰ; ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνου
 καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν ὥστ' οὐ μεμνήσθαι τοὺς
 λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καταρώμενος
 καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγ- 10
 μα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς
 ἰδίας ἔνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὔσαν ἀληθῆ. ὥς δ' ἀπηγ- 284
 γέλθη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας
 εὐθέως ὁμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φίλιαν καὶ ξενίαν
 εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέ- 15
 μενος τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας
 προφάσεως Δίσχινῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανισ-
 τρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος; ἐγὼ
 μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ
 συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω φανέρως 20
 αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυ-
 τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι γεγονὼς ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ
 ἀνειδιζεις ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὐρήσεις.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Δίσχινῃ, 285
 καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἡμνη- 25
 μόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν
 ἐρουντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμ-

βύντα οὐ σέ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ
 εὐφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημύδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τῇ
 εἰρήνῃ, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα,
 ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους
 5 ὡμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὃ Ζεὺ καὶ θεοὶ, καὶ κατηγορούν-
 των ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ'
 286 ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ' αἷτιον οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς
 μὲν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι καὶ γῶ. ἀμφότερ' ᾔδεσαν
 οὗτοι, τὴν τ' ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς
 10 τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν.
 ἃ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡρνεῖσθε διομνύ-
 μενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἢ πόλις ὁμολογήσατε.
 τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν ἐφρόνουν
 λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ'
 287 ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι· εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν
 16 ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι
 καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἄρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον
 μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκεί-
 νους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ
 20 παιανίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ
 τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶ-
 σθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν
 ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο
 δ' ἐώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοῖ, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν
 25 οὗ. διὰ ταῦτ' ἔμ' ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς.
 288 καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκό-
 των πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ'

αίρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περιδείπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τ' ἄλλ' εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἐκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκείος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρω· ὃ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἂ μῆποτ' ὠφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύτης πλείστον μετεῖχεν.

Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσία 289
προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῆς, 11
Δισχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ
συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιάρων. Λέγε.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρης εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
ὄπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν. 15
μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
ψυχὰς, ἀλλ' Ἀἰδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,
οὐρεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
δουλοσύνης στυγεράν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.
γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλείστα καμόντων 20
σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις·
μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεοῦ καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν,
ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φνεγεῖν ἔπορεν.

Ἀκούεις, Δισχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ μηδὲν ἀμαρ- 290
τεῖν ἐστὶ θεοῦ καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν; οὐ τῷ συμβού- 25
λῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε

δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λαιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἅ σοι καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέφειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν;

291 Πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα
 5 κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστα
 ἐθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτι τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε
 τῇ πόλει μνησθεῖς οὐχ ὥς ἂν εὖνους καὶ δίκαιος
 πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ'
 ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φω-
 10 νὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατη-
 γορεῖν δηλονότι, δαίγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι
 τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιστοῦσιν οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς

292 ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας
 φύσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνὶ, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν
 15 ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταῦτ' ἀλπεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτ' ἀ-
 χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν
 κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι· ὃ σὺ νυνὶ
 πεποικηκὼς εἰ φανερὸς, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς
 πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς
 20 ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν

293 τοῖς Ἕλλησι βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη
 παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἡναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ
 συμπασῶν ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν
 25 ἐγὼ ταῦτα φήσαιμι (ἡδικοῖην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὐτ'
 ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαίτε· οὐτός τ' εἰ
 δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ

μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.

Ἄλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερα 294
 ἄλλα κατηγορηκός αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; ὃς
 γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμὸν, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, κατηγορεῖ, 5
 τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; καίτοι νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ
 πάντας θεοὺς, εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι,
 τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόν-
 τας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως
 καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγεννημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν 10
 κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ'
 ἑκάστη τῶν πόλεων εὗροιτ' ἂν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἱ, 295
 ὅτ' ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πρῶγματα καὶ κομιδῇ
 μικρὰ, πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακα-
 λούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' 15
 αἰσχροκερδίας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προῖεντο, τοὺς
 ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἑξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφ-
 θεύροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος,
 Κινέας, Θρασυδαῖος, Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς, Ἱερώνυμος,
 Εὐκαμπίδας, Ἀργεῖους Μύρτις, Τελέδαμος, Μνα- 20
 σέας, Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος, Κλεότιμος, Ἀρίσταιχος,
 Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῦ ἑχθροῦ παῖδες
 Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικωνίους Ἀρίστρατος,
 Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος, Δημάρατος, Με-
 γαρέας Πτοιοῦδωρος, Ἐλιξος, Περίλαος, Θηβαίους 25
 Τιμόλας, Θεογείτων, Ἀνεμοίτας, Εὐβοέας Ἴππαρ-
 χος, Κλείταρχος, Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με λέ- 296

γοντα ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν ὧν περ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μαροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις
 10 Ἑλλήσιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατetroφότες.

297 Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχυρᾶς καὶ περιβοήτου συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλή-
 15 νων ἐλευθερίας, ἣ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιώ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δὴ σοι λέγω ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων,
 20 ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, 298 νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὐτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὐτ' ἐλπίς οὔτε φόβος οὐτ' ἄλλο οὐδέν. ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγύγετο ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι
 25 οὐδὲν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε τουτοισὶ, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερανεὶ τρυτάνῃ ρέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας

καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μεγίστων δὲ πραγ-
μάτων τῶν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς πάντα
ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. διὰ ταύτ'
ἄξιῳ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ 299
μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρεῖαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος ἡ
καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; πόρρω μέντοι πού
τῶν ἑμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεται. οὐ λίθοις
ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγὼ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τού-
τοις μέγιστον τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν
ἑμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις 10
ὄπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς
καὶ ἵππους καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἄμυνου-
μένους. ταῦτα προῦβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττι- 300
κῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατὸν, καὶ τού-
τοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ 15
Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως. οὐδέ γ' ἡττήθην ἐγὼ
τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ
ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατη-
γοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀπο-
δείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ. 20

Τί χρὴν τὸν εὖνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ 301
πίσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ
τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης
τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ
τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελο- 25
πόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτῃ; οὐ τὴν σιτο-
πομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ

- 302 Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προιδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν
 σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ
 λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον,
 τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ
 5 σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πράξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἀβυ-
 δον, τὴν Εὐβοίαν; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρ-
 χουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ'
 303 ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν
 ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς
 10 ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔαν ἄνευ φθόρου τις βούληται σκοπεῖν,
 ὀρθῶς εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ
 τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα
 οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύ-
 15 ναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἤκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἡ
 δαίμωνός τινος ἡ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἡ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης
 ἡ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα
 ταῦτα ἅμα ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψαν, τί
 304 Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ
 20 τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν, εἰς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων
 πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἓνα ἄνδρα μόνον
 Θετταλία καὶ ἓνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταῦτ' ἀφρονούντα
 ἔσχεν ἐμοί, οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων
 οὔτε τῶν εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἂν,
 25 ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ
 πάσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν
 ᾠκουν πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν

ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττωσι 305
χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοθηειῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα. 5

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν 306
κἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὃν κατορθουμένων μὲν με-
γίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ
δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς ἐτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν
εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν 10
πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην
κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, οὐ μὰ 307
Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει,
μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, 15
οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματ' ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα
λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων προελό-
μενον βασκαίνειν, ἃν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο
μεμνησθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ γ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον
καὶ ὑπουλον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. ἔστι γὰρ, 308
ἔστω ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν 21
οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἀπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ'
οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ
δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὑποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ τῆς πολιτείας
(πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ 25

τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέ-
 βηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ
 309 δὲ τὰνθρώπινα)· εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ
 ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ
 5 πεφωνασκηκῶς καὶ συνειλοχῶς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους
 συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστὶ, ὄντησιν μὲν
 οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτήσιν οὐδενός, συμ-
 φορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύν-
 ην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας,
 10 Αἰσχίνῃ, εἴπερ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίως ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ
 τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προηρημένης, τοὺς καρ-
 ποὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους
 εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπο-
 ρίου κατασκευὴν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς
 310 ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ
 16 ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδω-
 κεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ
 καλῷ τε ἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσῃ γεγο-
 νῶς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τέταρτος,
 20 οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὀποστοσοῦν, οὐκ οὐν ἐπὶ
 311 γ' οἷς ἡ πατρίς ηὔξανετο. τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ
 πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἢ κτή-
 σις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεΐα, τίς διακονία
 δι' ἣν πόλις ἐντιμοτέρα; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν
 25 Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται;
 ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς
 ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί τῶν ἀπάντων

σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἡ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις
πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων; οὐδεμία.
ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὐνοιά γε καὶ προθυ- 313
μία· πού; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ'
ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πάποτ' ἐφθέγγαντ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βή- 5
ματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπέδιδουσιν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον
Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν
ἀργύριον, οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρήλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας
οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας
μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλειόνων 10
ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεῶν
παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω
τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ 318
λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παρα-
λείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέ- 15
δωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν
ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα
πολιτεύει. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα
λαμπρός; ἥνικ' ἂν κατὰ τουτωνὶ δέῃ, ἐν τούτοις
λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτῆς ἄρι- 20
στος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν 314
μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν
ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτη-
κότας εὐνοίαν ὑπάρχουσιν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν 25
πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν
νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάν- 315

των ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ
 ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεώτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ
 φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἑμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ
 5 θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐτ' ἴσον,
 Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει
 §16 τῶν ταυτά σοι προσηρημένων καὶ ζώντων. ἀκεῖνον
 σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ
 τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὕσας ὑπερμεγέθεις,
 10 οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα
 βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν
 ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν, ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς
 §17 παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ
 μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ πολυ-
 15 τεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἃν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν
 τότ' ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταυτὰ βουλο-
 μένη φανήσεται, ἡ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους
 τότε συκοφαντούντων· δηλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκεί-
 νους ἦσαν τινες, οἳ διέσυρον μὲν τοὺς ὄντας τότε,
 20 τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπῆρουν, βάσκανον
 §18 πρᾶγμα καὶ ταυτὸ ποιοῦντες σοί· εἴτα λέγεις ὥς
 οὐδὲν ὁμοίος εἰμι ἐκείνοις ἐγώ; σὺ δ' ὁμοίος, Αἰσχί-
 νη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν
 ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. ἀλλὰ πρὸς
 25 τοὺς ζῶντας, ὧ χρηστὲ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἴπω, τὸν
 ζῶντα ἐξέταξε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ τᾶλλα
 πάντα, τοὺς ποιητὰς, τοὺς χοροὺς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς.

ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου καὶ §19
 τινων ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθε-
 νέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῆει,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα ἐμά-
 χετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. καὶ σὺ §
 πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὅρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτὸν, πρὸς
 ὅντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι. ὦν, §20
 ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφα-
 μίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῇ πᾶσι
 κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς §
 ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις
 ἅπαντα διωκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν
 εἰ τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἂ μήποτ'
 ὄφελε συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων, ἀλλὰ τῶν
 τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς §
 πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἐτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν
 ἕτερον βουλομένων ἐξέτασις ἦν, τῆνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ
 τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς
 ἵπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὖνους
 μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί. δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, §21
 τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι §
 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν
 μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρω-
 τείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ
 δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὖνοιαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύ- §
 σις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα. ταύ-
 την τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσετε ἀπλῶς.

- 322 ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς
 δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἀπειλούντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλο-
 μένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία
 μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν
 5 εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς ὀρθὴν καὶ
 δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμὰς,
 τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θερα-
 323 πεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ
 μὲν τοῖς ἐτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγη-
 10 θὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προ-
 τείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκείσε
 ἀπαγγέλλειν οἶωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν
 πεφρικῶς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν
 γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἳ τὴν μὲν πόλιν
 15 διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύροντες, ὅταν
 τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχη-
 σάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταῦτ'
 ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ φασὶ
 δεῖν τηρεῖν.
- 324 Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοὶ, μηδεὶς τοῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπι-
 21 νεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινα
 νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιήτως,
 τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώ-
 λεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοι-
 25 ποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρητημένων
 φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

NOTES.

NOTES.

§§ 1, 2. Exordium : a solemn prayer reiterated shortly after (8).
MAY HEAVEN INSPIRE THE ASSEMBLY TO GIVE ME SUCH A TRIAL AS
MY MERITS DESERVE AND IMPARTIAL JUSTICE DICTATES.

1. Page 1, line 1. *πρῶτον μὲν*. "To commence a speech with prayer," says Dissem, "was unusual in the Greek law courts. One instance is found in Lycurgus (c. *Leocr.* 136)" [*ἐθχομαι γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς...ἐμὲ μὲν ἄξιον κατήγορον ποιῆσαι.*] "The Romans rather affected the practice : Servius (on Vergil. *Æn.* xi. 301), *Majoris nullam orationem nisi invocatis numinibus inchoabant.* Cf. Ciceron. *Div. in Cæcil.* 13" : also *pro L. Murenâ* 1, and *pro C. Cornelio* (fragm.). In this instance, the solemn appeal to heaven is occasioned by the unjust demand of Æschines that Demosthenes should be required, in his speech, to follow the order of the indictment and the prosecution. — 2. *ὁσῆν εὐνοίαν, κ. τ. λ.*, *that the same good-will which I ever bear to the state and all of yourselves may subsist for me on your part in the present trial.* The *εὐνοία* of Demosthenes had been specified in Ctesiphon's decree as a ground for giving him the crown. *κηρύττεται τις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅτι στεφανοῦνται ἀπερὴς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ εὐκολας*, *Æsch. c. Ctes.* 89, 2. In connection with *διατελῶ ἔχων* the word *ὑπάρξει* is very appropriate : his *constant* patriotism, he assumes, will have accumulated for him a *fund* of popularity on which he may draw at this crisis. The emphatic *τοῦτον* adds emphasis to the expression of this idea. — 4. *ἐς*=*for*, or *in respect to*. — 5. *ἑαυτὰ* belongs to the class of adverbs which are in themselves antithetic : hence the *μὲν* after *πρῶτον* does not require to be followed by *δέ* or any similar particle. — *ὅπερ, κ. τ. λ.*, *that which is most in the interest of yourselves and your character for piety and honor.* For *ὅπερ* we find *ὅ τι μέλλει συνόψειν* in

the parallel passage, *inf. 8.* With this sense of *εὐσέβεια* cf. *Soph. El. 968*, *εὐσέβειαν ἐκ πατρὸς κάτω θανόντος οἴσει*. Here *εὐσέβεια* refers to their oath in particular, *δόξα* to equity in general. For *δόξα* in 8 the orator substitutes *εὐδοξία* as more explicit. — 6. *παραστήσαι*, to inspire. *παραστήσαντα ἐλπίδας*, p. 448, l. 9. οὐ γὰρ ἡ πλὴγὴ παρέστηκεν τὴν ὀργὴν ἀλλ' ἡ ἀτιμία, p. 537, l. 22. Whiston translates it, *to put into your hearts*. — 7. *μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον*, not to take my opponent for your adviser respecting the manner in which you ought to hear me. *Æschin.* p. 82 (fin.), *ἀξιώσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὅπερ καὶ γὰρ κατηγορήκα*, i. e. let him reply to the charge of special illegality before he defends his general character. — 8. *ὕμῃς ἐμοῦ*. Observe the juxtaposition and the emphasis, suggesting the absurdity as well as the injustice of such dictation: how you ought to hear me. — 2. 9. *τὸν ὅρκον*. A clause in the oath of the Heliastæ was *ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ τε κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν*, p. 747, l. 9. With *ὅρκον* repeat *σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι* = to consult. — 11. *ἀκροάσασθαι*. Bekker from Σ. The common reading was *ἀκροᾶσθαι*. The present infinitive would refer to the universal principle, the aorist to its particular application in any given case. — 12. *οὐ μόνον*. The *μόνον* must be understood as repeated after the following *οὐδέ*,... not merely to have formed no prejudice, not merely to show your good-will in equal measure to both sides. Another instance of this very common ellipsis is in 93. — 14. *τῇ τάξει*, κ. τ. λ., to allow each of the opposing orators so to deal with his defence and its arrangement as he has desired and predetermined to do. The force of these perfects represents the speaker as having chosen his line of defence fully and on principle before the trial begins, after which he cannot lightly abandon it. There is no need to take *τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ* as a hendiadys.

3, 4. *ÆSCHINES, IN THIS TRIAL, HAS TWO SPECIAL ADVANTAGES OVER ME*: (1) HE HAS NO CHARACTER TO LOSE; (2) THE SIDE OF THE CASE HE SPEAKS FOR IS THE MOST ENTERTAINING AND INTERESTING.

3. 17. *Πολλὰ μὲν*, κ. τ. λ., now while I have many disadvantages... there are two which are especially great. In this favorite Attic construction *δέ* introduces the principal sentence, *μὲν* the subordinate: frequently, as in the present example, they form the apodosis and protasis of a strictly concessive sentence. The *καὶ* is emphatic; *non copulat sed intendit* (Stallbaum on *Protag.* 315 D); a use especially marked in the phrases *καὶ μάλα*, *καὶ πάνυ*, and the like. — 18. *ἀγῶνα*. This word denotes the Grecian games, primarily the vast assembly that

was wont to witness them, and then the contest and struggle for the prize. Its use by the Attic orators to express a *trial* in the courts is highly significant. The Athenian dicasteries at this time had become, as it were, the *games* or *spectacles* of the age, in which the orators were the athletes, and the people found their favorite *amusement* in being present as spectators. And to this contest and spectacle — *τοῦτο τῶν ἀγῶνα* — a greater concourse had come together from all Greece than had ever before been known to be present on any such occasion. See *Æsch.* c. Ctes. 56, and *Cic. de Opt. Gen. Orat.* 7. — Page 2, line 1. *οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων*, *not for an equal stake*; that is, I have far more at stake than he has. — 3. *ἐλεῖν*, *to win his cause*; like our own phrase, *to get a verdict*. *ἐλεῖν* in this sense is used of the prosecutor only, and usually in conjunction with *γραφή*. *γραφάς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας διώξας ἐλεεν οὐδεμίαν*, *Antiph.* p. 115, l. 24. *γραφή* as distinguished from *εἰσαγγελία* is an indictment directed against criminal documents or orations, *εἰσαγγελία* against criminal conduct; *inf.* 249. Both words are descriptive of *public* accusations, never of *private*, for *γραφὴ ἰδίᾳ* (*c. Mid.* p. 529) implies that, in injuring the *individual* prosecutor, the accused has injured the *state*; because, at the time of the attack, the prosecutor was a State officer, or the like. *δική* as a general term for all varieties of actions would include *public* prosecutions, although, as a legal term, its special meaning is a *private* suit. — 4. *ἐμοὶ μὲν*. The aposiopesis is due to euphemism; it would be ominous (*δυσχερές*) to allude to an adverse verdict. He implies: I have position and reputation at stake; *Æschines* possesses neither, and therefore has nothing to lose; hence he accuses me, *ἐκ περιουσίας*, *at a monstrous advantage*. Reiske holds that this latter phrase includes the idea, *in sheer wantonness*, or, *by way of pastime*. Whiston renders it, *from a superabundant stock*; adding, for explanation, "hence his loss will be comparatively small, as he has not much to lose." And he quotes Brougham as rendering: "he brings his charge an unprovoked volunteer, ex abundanti." The former, in his edition, places a dash after the clause: *οὐ βούλομαι... τοῦ λόγου*, as well as before it, thus making it parenthetical, and *οὗτος δ'* antithetic to *ἐμοὶ μὲν*. — 6. *ἕτερον δέ*, and the other (sc. disadvantage), *the natural instinct of all mankind to enjoy the hearing of invectives*. — 4. 10. *πᾶσιν... ἐνοχλεῖ*, *offends everybody*. *ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνοχλῇ παρορᾶτε*, p. 398, l. 7. The verb *ἐνοχλεῖν* is usually transitive. *οὐχὶ τῶν ἐνοχλούντων ὑμᾶς*; p. 622, l. 12; but *Lysias* constructs it as a neuter, *c. Andoc.*

p. 107, ἐν γοῦν ἐπίστανται μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς ἡδικημένοι, and so does Demosthenes, p. 341, l. 3, ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ προσίοντας ὑμῖν. ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν qualifies the otherwise too unqualified πᾶσιν: everybody, so to speak. C. 671; Cu. 564; G. 268; H. 772.*—11. καὶν μὲν, and if, in precaution against this, I abstain from stating what I have done...I shall be thought incapable of clearing myself from the charges, or showing my claims for honorable distinction. His dilemma is this: either he must praise himself, and so disgust the court, or else hold his peace, and so make a tacit admission that Æschines is in the right. δεικνύσαι, to exhibit rather than prove.—14. ἀ...πεπολιτευμαι, my conduct and policy. A fondness for such pairs of words closely related in signification is characteristic of our orator's style. Cf. βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται, 2, λοιδοριῶν καὶ κατηγοριῶν, 3, et passim.—16. ὥς μετρίως. This usual ellipsis of δυνατόν ἐστι, or the like, resembles our own idiom, "as best may be"; *quam modestissime*. C. 553; Cu. 631, a; H. 664.—17. ὅ τι δ' ἄν. But, whatever the case itself constrains me to, of that he who set such a trial on foot deserves to incur the blame; i. e. self-defence justifies self-laudation. Reiske cites Quintil. *Inst. Or.* xi. 1, 22, Neque hoc dico non aliquando de rebus a se gestis oratori esse dicendum, sicut eidem Demostheni pro Ctesiphonte, quod tamen ita emendavit ut necessitatem id faciendi ostenderet, invidiamque omnem in eum regeret qui hoc se coegisset. Plutarch, *Mor.* 541 E, calls it λαμπρὰν τῷ Δημοσθένει παρησίαν.

5-7. MY STAKE IN THIS CASE IS QUITE AS HEAVY AS CTESIPHON'S. I IMPORE YOU NOT TO BE PREJUDICED BY THE SPEECH FOR THE PROSECUTION, BUT TO BEAR IN MIND YOUR OATH AS JURORS.

5. 21. ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Κτησιφῶντι. τε is wanting in Σ, probably by accidental omission. In this clause he declares the close connection of Ctesiphon with himself as regards the trial, in the next the ἐμοὶ stands emphatically alone. Translate, *and deserves on my own part an earnestness by no means inferior*. The datives are ethical. C. 462; Cu. 433; G. 184, 3; H. 596.—23. πάντων = anything whatever (*cuiusvis*). So in the common phrase, πάντος ἐστίν (*cuius contingit*), "it is in the power of anybody (and everybody)." τὸ μὲν ὀργισθῆναι πάντος καὶ ῥάδιον. Aristot. *N.E.* 11, 9.—25. τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας. This replies to the taunt of Æschines on p. 84, σὺ δ' οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ: ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ

* The references are to the grammars of Crosby, Rev. Ed. 1871; Curtius, Harper's Ed. 1872; Goodwin; and Hadley.

σπουδή; περί χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ.— 6. P. 3, l. 3. δικαίως. This adverb and the four following words belong clearly to ἀκούσαι. *I beg and implore you, while I am making my defence upon the charges, to hear me with justice as the laws direct.*—ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Originally, not as the earliest lawgiver, but as the most influential. Hence τιθεῖς, which is strictly of one despotic lawgiver, whereas τιθέμενος is of a republic or community.— 4. εὖνους ἑμῖν. So Ar. Nub. 1190, Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν. Translate, *being well disposed towards you, and a friend to the people.*—οὐ μόνον, κ. τ. λ. *Thought it essential should be rendered valid, not merely by the fact of recording them, but also by the fact of you, the jurors, having taken an oath.* To appreciate the force of the tenses δικάζοντας and ὁμολοκεῖναι we must recollect that a body of 6,000 was chosen annually by lot from the whole of the commons; out of these again, the Archons selected by lot the jury for each particular case, and they took the oath every time prior to trying a cause.— 7. 6. οὐκ ἀπιστῶν. *Not because he distrusted you.* C. 674; Cu. 581; G. 277, 2; H. 789, c.— 7. αἰτίας καὶ διαβολάς. αἰτία, according to Demosthenes, means an accusation relying on the bare word of the accuser. *ὅταν τις ψιλῶ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πίστιν ὡν λέγει*, p. 600, l. 4. Hence we find it conjoined with διαβολαί here and with λοιδορία (l. c.). Observe the orator's fondness for pairs of kindred words. Cf. note, 4.— 8. ὁ διώκων, *the prosecutor*, i. e. the accuser in his official capacity; the Scotch "pursuer"; opposed to ὁ φεύγων, *the defendant*. This difference between διώκειν and κατηγορεῖν is strongly marked in 9, *εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἔδωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν.*— 9. ἰσχύει = *is strong*; that is, has the advantage.— παρελθεῖν. Originally, *to outstrip and pass by* in a race; hence, metaphorically, *to defeat, circumvent, get the better of.* τὰ ἔργα τοῦδ λόγου παρέρχεται, p. 132, 7.— 11. διαφυλάττων. The compound δια-, of persistence and continuance, as in διασώζειν, διαζῆν, κ. τ. λ.— τὰ δίκαια, κ. τ. λ. *Shall likewise (καὶ) admit with favor the just pleas of him who speaks at a later period, and having first devoted himself as a fair and impartial hearer to both sides, thus and thus only (οὕτω) (i. e. only after having heard both sides) let him form his decision on the whole case.* Hence the Aorist παρασχών. C. 674, d; Cu. 496; H. 717.

8. WITH SO SERIOUS A STRUGGLE BEFORE ME I REITERATE MY PRAYER TO HEAVEN.

16. ὡς ἔουκε. To be taken closely with παντός. Actually the

prosecution did not assail Demosthenes' life on all points, but obviously its intention was to do so. Compare note, *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν*, 4. — 17. *λόγον δίδοναι*. To give an account. So *λ. αἰρεῖν*, *λαμβάνειν*, not to be confounded with the other usage, "to give a man opportunity of speaking." — 18. *πάλιν*. See the notes on the parallel passage in 1. The exordium of this oration is longer and more impassioned than is usual with Demosthenes. The success of his defence depended entirely on his being permitted to choose his own order of arrangement, and to place in the foreground of his argument his public policy, in which he was sure of the sympathy of the Athenian dicastery. Having secured this point in his introduction, he had in fact swept away the chief reliance and support of his antagonist, and could now meet him, as it were, in the open field, on the main question, where he had nothing to fear. His renewed and impassioned appeal to the gods for an impartial hearing was further justified, not to say necessitated, by his adversary's representation of him as an ill-starred and accursed enemy of the gods.

9. AS ÆSCHINES HAS TRAVELLED OUT OF THE INDICTMENT, I SHALL DO THE SAME.

26. *Εἰ κατηγορήσεν... ἂν ἀπελογούμην*. If he had (at the time when he spoke) accused me, I should have been now defending myself. The speech of Æschines is a thing of the past, that of Demosthenes is going on in the present. Hence we have the aorist in the protasis, the imperfect in the apodosis. Many grammars give an erroneous rule about the meaning of this imperfect indicative with *ἂν*, according to which rule they would render *ἀπελογούμην ἂν*, "I should defend myself," as if there was some prospect of his doing so. But that would require in Greek the optative in lieu of the indicative. There can clearly be but a shade of difference between the imperfect indicative and the aorist of the same mood, whenever they appear in exactly the same construction. Whichever of the two be combined with *ἂν* in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the very nature of the tense excludes all consideration of *future* prospects *now*. Such prospects *were* once *future* in a time gone by, if a certain condition had been then fulfilled; but they are so no longer. The imperfect under these circumstances implies a little more than the aorist: it implies that the action of the verb is to be viewed as a matter of duration and continuity. C. 615; Cu. 537, sqq.; G. 222; H. 742. — 27. *προβουλεύματος*. At the time when Æschines brought

his action, the bill of Ctesiphon had received the sanction of the βουλή, and was then offered to the δῆμος, that their votes might be taken upon it. Strictly speaking, the bill could not be called a ψήφισμα until it received their sanction. See Smith's Dic. of Antiq. Art. Βουλή. — P. 4, l. 2. ἀνήλωκε, *has lavished*, a word descriptive of reckless rather than of reasonable expenditure. Some discussion has arisen about the augment, as used in Attic, of the past tenses of ἀναλίσκω (see Lobeck's *Ajax*, 1049). But there seems to be little doubt about the true reading here. — 5. ἵνα μηδεὶς, κ. τ. λ., *that none of you may give me a more prejudiced hearing of the rights which concern this indictment, because he has been carried away by the pleadings extraneous to the case*. This is the usual translation, and according to this we must understand by the phrase ἀλλότριον ἀκούειν *to hear with a judgment not one's own*, i. e. already imbued with the views of another. Cf. γναθμοῖσι γελοίων ἀλλοτρίοισι, Homer *Odys.* xvii. 452, of laughing with an expression not one's own, i. e. forced. The comparative adverb only adds the sense of *more than the average*, or *more than he would do if let alone*. ἡγμένος, *carried with violence*, a common meaning of ἄγω, as especially in the phrase φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν. The construction of ἀκούειν with a double genitive (1) of the person, (2) of the thing, as here, is somewhat unusual though quite grammatical. The genitive of the person could be regarded as limiting the genitive of the thing = *my just arguments touching the indictment*. Compare τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου δίκαια, 7.

10, 11. TO HIS SLANDERS ON MY PRIVATE CHARACTER I REPLY FOR THE PRESENT BY APPEALING TO YOUR PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF ME. I SHALL DEAL WITH HIS IMPUTATIONS ON MY PUBLIC CHARACTER FIRST.

10. 8. λοιδορούμενος, *all his abusive slander*. The active and middle voices of λοιδορεῖν are used with very slight difference of meaning: strictly the active = to abuse the man; the middle = to get the man abused, or abuse him for one's own purposes. So πλάττω and πλάττεσθαι. Cf. ἐπλάττετο in this same section. — 10. εἰ μὲν ὥστε, *if you know me to be [supply ὅτι] such a man as the prosecutor just now [imperfect tense] accused me of being* — [and you must know me thoroughly well] *for I have lived nowhere else than among yourselves — do not so much as tolerate the sound of my voice, not even if I have with extreme ability conducted all my public administration; but rise from your seats and condemn me at once*. φωνή is very appropriate here, φωνεῖν meaning “to

speak aloud." Ἀναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς τὸδ' εἶπε φωνῶν. *Æsch. Ag.* 205. Demosthenes says, "Refuse not merely to hear my arguments, but even the sound of my voice." There were three methods of silencing an orator: *συρίττειν* = to hiss him down; *ἐκρίπτειν* = to hustle him off the Bema; or lastly, as here, to rise from their seats, drop in their votes in condemnation of Ctesiphon, and so abruptly terminate the trial. — 14. εἰ δὲ πολλῶ. *But if you have conceived and are well aware that I myself—ay, and my family too—are far superior to the prosecutor, and of a superior descent, and as good (to say nothing beyond the mark) as any average individuals.* The object of *γινώσκειν* was to have been ἐμὲ alone, καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς is added as an after-thought, but too late to alter the singular βελτίω. It is common, however, in such constructions, for the predicate to agree with the nearer or the more prominent subject, especially if the predicate precedes. *C.* 497; *G.* 138, *N.* 2, b; *H.* 511, h. The word *μετρίων* is always of the *juste milieu*: here of fair respectability in character and position. *παρέχειν* *ἐάντων* *μέτριον* (*Æschin.* p. 1, l. 3). Self-laudation, as *burlesque* to the hearer, is well described by *ἐπαχθέει*. πῶλος ἦν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἐπαχθέης. *Æschin.* p. 33, l. 29. — 11. 21. κακοήθης... εὐήθης φήθης. Here is a triple paronomasia. *εὐήθης* is used sarcastically and in a bad sense, as we sometimes use *good-natured* and *well-meaning* to denote weakness. Jacobs imitates the Greek in German by the words, *argmüthig... gutmüthig*; and we might translate them imperfectly thus: *ill-natured as you are, you entertained the good-natured notion*. Paronomasia is not frequent in Demosthenes, but is sometimes used with great ingenuity and force. Thus he plays on the name of Eubulus: εἰ κακῶς ἐμὲ βούλει ποιεῖν, Εὐβουλε. — 25. τετράφωμαι. *I am not so blind*, literally, *so obscured with mist* (τῦφος). Harpocration, however, derives *τυφοῦσθαι* from *τυφῶς*, and explains it to be *storm-struck*. Demosthenes combines it with *μαίνεσθαι* (p. 409, l. 11), and with *ληρεῖν* (p. 116, l. 6): he contrasts it with *ἀπιστεῖν* (p. 682, l. 6). The prevailing idea of the verb is therefore *blind folly*. — 26. ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων. The difference in meaning between *ὑπέρ* and *περί* is slight in the Attic orators. The sense of *concerning* is common to both, the sense of *defending* is limited to *ὑπέρ*. Probably this latter sense may have risen from the fact of the hero in the field of battle standing over his prostrate friend to protect him from the enemy's assault. — 27. πομπέας. Language fit only for a Dionysiac procession (*Harpocr.*). A specimen will be found in *Aristoph. Ranae*, 416 sqq.

Translate: *ribaldry which has been so profusely indulged in.* — P. 5, l. 1. *ἂν βουλευόμενος ᾤ, if it be the wish of the assembly; otherwise it is not worth while.* On this Dative of Relation, see Madvig, *Gr. S.* § 38. d.; C. 459, N.; Cu. 435; G. 184, N. 6; H. 601, a.

12–16. IN PROSECUTING CTESIPHON, ÆSCHINES HAS LAID THE GRAVEST CHARGES AGAINST MYSELF; BUT, THOUGH HE HAS DONE SO WITH THE UTMOST MALICE, YET HE HAS NOT AFFORDED THE STATE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT ME WITH JUST PUNISHMENT. THAT COULD ONLY HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED BY A FAIR TRIAL IN WHICH I SHOULD MYSELF HAVE BEEN THE DEFENDANT. ÆSCHINES OUGHT TO HAVE BROUGHT ACTIONS AGAINST ME, IN A LEGAL FORM, AT THE VERY TIME OF EACH ALLEGED OFFENCE. IF THESE OFFENCES OF MINE WERE GRAVE ENOUGH TO SUPPLY MATERIALS FOR THE PRESENT CHARGE AGAINST CTESIPHON, *a fortiori* I OUGHT MYSELF TO HAVE BEEN INDICTED FOR COMMITTING THEM.

An immense amount of valuable criticism has been expended on this passage. After carefully weighing the whole of it, I extract the above as the best solution. But none of the editors state distinctly what appears to me the gist of the argument. Æschines, the orator contends, is grossly in the wrong, *for two reasons*, (1) because his accusation is malicious, (2) because it is futile for purposes of justice. His accusation is (1) malicious, for he puts me into a position where I cannot come forward to plead in my own defence. His accusation is (2) futile, for he never indicted me when I was committing the offences, and the time for legal punishment has long gone by. Terrible as the crimes may be with which I am charged, the state can do nothing now to inflict an adequate penalty. Most of the editors seem to consider the whole passage, 12, 13, as obscure and involved in point of language. But there is no just reason for so pronouncing. Only to understand the construction of the sentences the reader must bear in mind their exact sequence and mutual relation. *τὰ μὲν κατηγορημένα* stands in antithesis to the concessive sentence introduced by *τοῦ δὲ παρόντος*. The protasis of this concessive sentence is headed by *ἐχθροῦ μὲν*, the apodosis of it by *τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν*. To the protasis refer the words which follow from *οὐ γὰρ* to *Ἀθηναίοι*: to the apodosis refer the words from *ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς* to *γραφόμενον*. He is wrong, says the orator, both ways, for he ought not to have done what he has done, *but* he ought to have done what he has left undone. *ἀλλὰ* is clearly the natural particle to link these two clauses together.

12. *Now the accusations he has brought are many and serious; and for some of them the laws assign heavy—ay, the extreme—penalties; but although the very principle of the present trial implies at once an enemy's malice and violence and abuse and insult and everything else of the kind, yet for the charges and accusations which have been laid (if indeed they were true) it is not in the power of the state to inflict an adequate penalty, or in fact anything like it.* — P. 5, l. 5. *προαίρεσις* = the deliberate moral choice by which the prosecutor selected his process of action; its intense maliciousness appeared (1) in the virulence of the accusations against Demosthenes; (2) in the indirect mode of attack which was designed to exclude Demosthenes himself from a personal hearing. — 6. *ἀσπρή*. This reading appears the best, although *ἀσπρη* is found in Σ and some other MSS. — 8. *μέτρον*. The particle *μέτρον* is always adversative, and in antithesis to *μέν* is far stronger than *δέ*, indeed almost as strong as *ἀλλὰ*. — 13. *For he must not deprive one of access to the commons and a fair hearing; still less must he do so in a style of malice and envy: no, indeed, gentlemen of Athens, it is neither proper nor constitutional nor just: but* [here supply *ἔδει* from the *δεῖ* preceding] *his duty was in whatever cases he saw me injuring the state (especially supposing them to be so monstrous as he was just now ranting about and reciting), to take advantage of the legal penalties at the very moment when the said offences were committed; if he saw me commit what deserved impeachment, impeaching me, and bringing me in that manner to trial before your court; or if he saw me proposing unconstitutional measures, indicting me for unconstitutional conduct. For it is not possible, I presume, that he should prosecute Ctesiphon now on my account, and yet have foreborne to prosecute myself, had he thought he could secure a conviction.* — 11. *προσελθεῖν τῷ δῆμῳ* simply means, in connection with the context, to be placed in the official position of defendant. In *λόγου τυχεῖν*, *to get a speaking*, we have a suggestive contrast with our own idiom, *to get a hearing*. At the beginning of *Æschin. de F. L.* we find this phrase immediately followed by *ἀπολογίας τυχών*. — 12. *τάξις*. More strictly, *position*, but a word of such various uses must be rendered according to its collocation. *ἐν ἐχθροῦ τάξει* (p. 481, l. 21), in the *quality of*. *τῇ τοῦ συμβούλου τάξει* (p. 292, l. 14), the *province or part of*. In *ἐπ' αἰσώδῃ* there is not only a general allusion to the pompous declamation of the theatre, but a tacit reference to the former profession of *Æschines* as an actor. The more frequent taunt is *τριτάγωνιστεῖν*, as in this speech, p. 314, l. 12, etc., *διεξίνααι*, in the sense of *reciting*, is an apt combination.

Æschin. p. 75, l. 35. — 17. *παρ' αὐτά.* The time of accusation being exactly parallel to the time when the offences were committed. *παρὰ καιροῦ* (p. 470, l. 12), *παρὰ χορηγίαν* (p. 514, l. 8), etc. — 18. *εἰσαγγελία* may be rendered by our word *impeachment*, but strictly means a public prosecution for some offence which legislation has omitted to notice, and for which, in consequence, no penalty is specified. — 20. *παράνομα* consisted in proposing a *ψήφισμα*, which would violate either the letter or spirit of any existing law. We have no exact equivalent for it, but *unconstitutional* is nearer the meaning than *illegal*. A fuller explanation of these and other judicial words may be found in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities. — 14. 23. *καὶ μὴν*, and really: often wrongly translated moreover. *μὴν* is the strongest asseverative particle, like the colloquial use of *I declare* in English. In the formula *ἦ μὴν* this sense is particularly prominent; also in Greek Tragedy, where a new character enters and is introduced by the chorus. In questions and negatives *μὴν* is hardly translatable, but adds the strongest possible emphasis to the word which immediately precedes it. — 25. *εἰς νόμοι.* Here we must observe, as Dissem suggests, the contrast between the *ἀγῶνες ἀτίμητοι* and the *ἀγῶνες τιμητοί*: in the former case the laws themselves directed the nature and degree of punishment to be inflicted on the guilty; in the latter it was at the discretion of the jury to assign whatever penalty they thought proper; *τιμωρίαι*, penalties appointed by law, refer to the *ἀτίμητοι*; *ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις* refer to the *τιμητοί*; and the phrase *τάπειναια*, punishments, applies equally to a verdict affecting purse or person under either form of trial. — P. 6, l. 2. *τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ* = the provisions applicable to my case. — *ὁμολογεῖτο ἄν.* *Would have been consistent with.* A similar use of the active voice, *ὁμολογεῖν*, is found in Antiph. *de Chor.* p. 145. *ταῖς λόγοις τοὺς μάρτυρας ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ τοῖς μάρτυσιν τὰ ἔργα.* — 15. 4. *τοὺς παρ' αὐτά...ἐλέγχους.* The inquiries at the time of the deeds themselves. *ἐλέγχους* is to be taken in emphatic contrast with *αἰτίας καὶ σκόμματα καὶ λοιδορίας*; also *παρ' αὐτά τὰ πράγματα* with *τοσοῦτον ὕστερον χρόνους.* Avoiding the inquiries proper at the time, he has brought together heaps of accusations and scuffings and revilings long afterwards. — 7. *ὑποκρίνεται.* He is playing his part. Vid. sup. 13, *ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ.* Not very far from our own idea of *hypocrisy*: his conduct is underhand and dishonest; he plays the part of Ctesiphon's accuser, being really mine. — *κρίνω τουνόν.* Brings my client here to trial. *κρίνω* in its most technical sense, of the prosecutor entailing

κρίσις on the defendant. So *c. Mid.* p. 581, l. 13, etc. — 9. *προεστῆται*. *He makes the prominent feature of the trial.* A rare use of *προϊσθῆναι*. To *put in front* is, of course, the literal meaning, but the classical writers generally use it of *putting in front*, as a screen, or a champion. — *ἀπηντηκός*. *Having never faced me on this ground.* *ἀπαντᾶν* of encountering an adversary point blank, and *ἐν* of the ground selected for the combat. Dissen cites the *c. Mid.* p. 563, *ἐν ταῦτα δὲ ἀπῆντων ὡς ἦλκεν ἡδῆ*. — 10. *τὴν ἐτέρου...φαίναται*. *He is clearly seen to be seeking to take away the civil rights of another.* *ἐπιτίμια* is the opposite of *ἀτιμία* in its civil sense. See Dict. of Antiq. If Ctesiphon were cast in the suit he would have a fine inflicted upon him, and until this fine were paid he would be a public debtor and consequently *ἀτιμος*. *Æschines* had laid the damages at the enormous sum of fifty talents. — 16. 15. *ἐξέτασμόν*. According to some grammarians this is not a pure Attic form. Certainly *ἐξέτασις* is the usual word, and *ἐξέτασμός* does not occur elsewhere except in *Plutarch*. But Dissen marks the true distinction: *ἐξέτασμόν ποιῆσθαι*, *disceptare*, de litigantibus, at *ποιεῖν ἐξέτασιν* *judicium est*, cf. 226: *τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιῆσει ὑμᾶς*. — 17. *ἐτέρῳ ὄντι*. Either by attraction for *ἐτερον ὄντι*, or else an indirect question: *to seek what other person we can do a mischief to*. The former is the usual interpretation.

17. I DENOUNCE THE WHOLE ACCUSATION AS FALSE; BUT I SHALL ALSO EXPOSE ITS FALSEHOOD IN DETAIL. I MUST THEREFORE REMIND YOU OF THE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

20. *ἐν' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς*. *Nor with any truth whatever.* The sense of *ἐν* is (1) superposition: and hence (2) intimate connection. When the accusative follows *ἐν*, *moving towards* that connection is implied; when the dative, *resting in* that connection; when the genitive, *being in* that connection *and yet separate*. This complex notion is due to the fact, that separation is one essential force belonging to the genitive case. So a ship is *ἐν' ἀγκύρας*, connected with an anchor but separated from it by the cable: a rider is *ἐφ' ἵππου*, for there is no material union between the man and his horse. Yet in this last, and in many other instances, the dative might be put for the genitive with only a slight distinction of meaning. The distinction may be stated thus. When two objects are heterogeneous, capable of being joined together but incapable of coalescing, then, if the writer wishes to *impress* on the reader the idea of their *close union*, he puts the dative

after *ἐπὶ*, if he does not wish to impress that idea but yet to state their connection, he puts the genitive. *ἐπὶ γῆς* is *on* (and *above*) the surface of the earth; it is opposed to *ὑπὸ γῆς* (Soph. *O. T.* 416): but *ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ* is *in* the country. With nouns representing the abstract (e. g. *ἀληθείας*) the genitive is peculiarly appropriate. — 21. *καθ' ἐν*. To be taken adverbially. There is a valuable note on this use of *κατά* in Buttman's *Midias* (Index, s. v.). He points out that such expressions are generally adverbial, but observes that *κατά*, in many cases, coalesces entirely with the accusative which follows it, so as to be treated as a noun for purposes of construction. *ὁ μὲν ἀθρόους πείθει ὁ δὲ καθ' ἐνα*, Plat. *Alc.* I. 22; *ἀντέσχομεν πρὸς τε σύμπαντας καὶ καθ' ἐκάστους*, Thucyd. II. 64. Cf. Herod. II. 93. — 24. *Φιλοκράτους*. A politician of some prominence at the close of the Olynthian war. His name recurs again and again in the rival speeches of the orator and Æschines, each of them disclaiming complicity with him and imputing such complicity to the other; *ὁ σὺς, Ἀλσχίῃ, κοινῶς, οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς* (*inf.* 21). Philocrates, in the year 348, proposed that Philip should be allowed to send envoys to Athens, and to treat of peace. For this a charge of *παράνομα* was laid against him, and, as he was too ill to speak for himself, Demosthenes addressed the assembly in his defence. In the year 347 Philocrates proposed to send envoys to Philip for a peace negotiation, and named Demosthenes as one of them. See *Introduction*, II. In 346, on the famous 18th of Elaphebolion (*inf.* *κοινῶς συνεδρίου*, 22), it was Philocrates who advocated peace and alliance with Macedon. This policy proving a disgrace to Athens, Hyperides impeached him shortly after, and he fled into exile sooner than face a trial. They condemned him in his absence. It is clear that he was bribed by Philip and made an ostentatious display of the money so acquired. — 26. *κατ' ἐκείνους*. Throughout the course of that period: *κατά*, always of motion along (or guidance by) a definite line, moral or material. The accusative which follows *κατά* describes the whole of that line's direction, the genitive denotes its starting or finishing point. When this genitive marks the finishing point, hostility is usually implied. — 27. *πρὸς*. With an eye to the subsisting crisis: *πρὸς*, as distinguished from *κατά*, is suggestive of a mark or goal, rather than of the line which leads to it. *πρὸς* followed by the accusative = acting with that goal or mark in view; by the dative = having reached the goal and remaining there; by the genitive (case of separation, as before) = being at the goal and taking action from it.

18-24. LET ME RECALL TO YOUR MINDS THE HISTORY OF THE YEARS 357 TO 346; THE DISSENSIONS OF GREECE, AND PHILIP'S ADVANTAGES THEREIN. PEACE WAS CONCLUDED THROUGH THE TREACHERY OF ÆSCHINES AND HIS PARTY. I, AT LEAST, HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. IF IT WAS *my* DOING, WHY DID THEY NOT DENOUNCE ME AT THE TIME!

18. P. 7, l. 1. τοῦ Φωκικοῦ. *Introduction*, II. — συστάτης. *Having been set in operation.* συνιστάει is to organize either for good or evil. The orator wishes to impute external agency, originating in Macedon or at Athens, as the prime cause of the Phocian outbreak. — 2. ἐπολιτεύμεν. *Had not yet engaged in politics*: lit. *was not yet, at that time, administering the government.* The definite οὕτω gives to the imperfect the force of a pluperfect. This use of πολιτεύεσθαι is suggestive: the ideal citizen was to take an active part in administration. — τότε. His earliest public speeches were *adv. Leptin.* and *c. Androt.* spoken in 355, that is, two years after the beginning of the Phocian war. His earliest political speech, *de Symmoriis*, was in 354. — 4. σωθῆναι. *To hold their own.* We could not wish them victory, their cause being a wrong one, but only a safe issue under compromise. — οὐ δίκαια. *Anything but right*: the common figure meiosis; so immediately below, οὐκ ἀλόγως, οὐ μετρίως, and *passim.* — ποιοῦντας. i. e. in the whole of their policy. Dindorf refers this remark to their plunder of the Delphic treasury in particular. But if the orator had meant to imply such a special instance of wrong-doing, he would surely have written ποίησαντας. — 5. ἐψησθῆναι. Like ἐπιχαίρειν, always of malicious joy. This tone of Athenian feeling towards Thebes is illustrated throughout the *adv. Leptin.* Observe the force of εὖ = *you would have been delighted at.* On the participial construction in Greek where other languages would employ a substantival sentence cf. C. 677; Cu. 592; H. 800; *Madv. Gk. S.* 174 b. — 7. ἁγίοις. The Sacred or Phocian war commenced fourteen years after the date of this battle, and five years after the date of Mantinea. ἐκέχρητο refers to the period between Leuctra and Mantinea, during which the Thebans retained their supremacy in Greece, and made their four consecutive invasions of the Peloponnesus. οἷς dative by attraction. ἐν is the regular preposition to denote the place of a battle. — 8. διασπῆσαι. *Was eternally divided.* They had become completely divided, and hence were perpetually in that state. — 9. οἱ μισοῦντες. These, as Pausanias informs us (4. 28), were the Mes-

senians with the Argives and Arcadians, who all looked to Athens for aid and alliance. — 10. οἱ πρότερον. At the close of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonians established a council of oligarchs in every Greek city where the step was practicable, the said council (δεκαρχία) consisting of ten members (ἀρμοσται) chosen from among such of the inhabitants as favored the supremacy of Lacedæmon. Their tyranny in the several states appears to have been unlimited. Xen. *Hellenic*. III., 5. 13. ; Isocr. *Panath.*, p. 239. They were all put down immediately after the Lacedæmonian defeat at Leuctra. — 12. ἀκριτος. *Promiscuous*, i. e. involving infinite complications and combinations. The various meanings of ἀκριτος all trace back to the primary derivation, *that which cannot be separately distinguished*. Whiston refers, by way of illustration, to the Homeric usage of this word in μῦθοι ἀκριτοι, *endless words*, and ἄχεα ἀκριτα, *interminable sorrows*. — 19. 14. οὐ...ἀφανῆ. *Anything but hard to perceive*. Another instance of meiosis. — προδόται. The alleged traitors in each state are specified by name in 295. Some of them, as Bremi observes, were probably conciliated by Philip's courtesy, and their own antagonism to the democracy; not by pecuniary bribes. — 14–16. τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις...ἐτάραττον. *By lavishing money on the traitors in the several states, he was embroiling them all and stirring them up against each other*. The imperfects suggest the sustained and gradual progress of Philip's intrigues. For αὐτοῖς some MSS. read ἀλλήλους, probably a correction. The reflexive pronoun, in all the best authors, is occasionally used as a synonyme of the reciprocal. ἐκάστοις and πάντας are in emphatic antithesis. — 16. ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον. *By the mistakes and misjudgments of others he was making his own preparations, and fostering his growth to the ruin of all*. ἐν of cause or means, the ground on which he took his stand, and the depot from which he drew his materials. ἄλλοι, those who were not treacherous but merely ill-advised, distinct from προδόται. κατά, of hostility, is like our colloquial phrase to come down upon. See 17, note κατ' ἐκείνους, end. — 18. τῷ μῆκει τοῦ πολέμου. The war lasted nine years. — 19. νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς. An obvious allusion to the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, five years before this speech was delivered. — 20. καταφεύγειν. The Theban alliance with Athens did not really take place till Philip seized Elatea, nearly nineteen years after the time the orator refers to. ὥς=as, or since. φανερόν...ἀναγκασθόμενοι personal for impersonal construction=it was manifest to all that they would soon be compelled.

C. 578, c; Cu. 571; G. 280; H. 771. — 23. ἐπαγγέλλασθε. *Made proffers of.* ἐπαγγέλλασθαι denotes publicity with a view to some definite effect or cause. Hence it includes the meanings "to command," "to denounce," "to promise," "to make a profession." — 20. 23. τί οὖν. *What then co-operated with him to catch you in a state of almost wilful deception?* ὀλίγου δεῖν qualifies ἐκόντας only: the force of the imperfect participle (ἐξαπατωμένους) reminds them that their state of deception had been chronic. As regards the construction of ὀλίγου δεῖν, the ὀλίγου is the natural genitive following a verb of privation, and δεῖν is a substantival infinitive used adverbially in the accusative case (like ἀρχήν, τέλος, προίκα, κ. τ. λ.): this accusative is closely akin to the accusative of Relation. C. 665; H. 675, a. — 25. ἡ τῶν ἄλλων. The article agrees with a feminine nominative implied in εἶπε...εἰπεῖν. *The cowardice, ought I to call it, or the ignorance.* So ἡ ὑμετέρα, εἶπε χρή φιλανθρωπίαν λέγειν, εἰθ' οὐκ εἴρησεν, c. Aristoc. p. 671 (fin.). — 27. πόλεμον refers to the whole period between the capture of Amphipolis by Philip in the year 358 and the peace which was concluded in 346. The expenses of the war are estimated by Æschines at 1500 talents (*de F. L.*, p. 37). — P. 8, l. 2. σώμασιν. *Troops:* soldiers regarded as so many "head." Our own use of "person" is somewhat analogous. Whiston aptly cites τὰ ἐλεύθερα σώματα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. Xen. *Hell.* II., 1, 20. — 5. ὑπηκούσατε. *Lent an ear:* "acquiescence" is meant, not "subjection." συγχωρηθεῖσα, afterwards, implies a concession involving sacrifices. — 8. ἐν αὐτῇ. From the year 346 to 338. See *Introduction*, II. — πραγμάτων. *Troubles:* the constant Attic euphemism, especially when speaking of litigation. — 10. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, *for the sake of the truth*, not because they concern me at all, as he proceeds to argue. ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι = *I am stating accurately and rehearsing at length.* — 21. 11. τὰ μάλιστα. *Ever so much:* another adverbial accusative: = granting the condition to be fulfilled at its maximum. The addition of τὰ μάλιστα invariably converts a conditional sentence into a concessive. — 13. δῆπον. *I presume*, as πον is *I think*. δῆ always signifies in truth, and its compounds retain that essential meaning whether seriously or ironically. So δῆθεν (always ironical), forsooth, οὐκ ὅτι, when actually, i. e. the moment when, ἐπειδὴ, since in fact, etc. — 14. Ἀριστόδημος. A famous tragic actor highly esteemed by Philip, and intrusted by the state with a sort of roving commission to inquire Philip's probable policy, when visiting Macedonia on a

professional tour. *Æschin. de F. L.*, p. 49. *Dem. de F. L.*, pp. 344, 371, 442. Cf. *Cic. de Repub.* IV., 11. — δ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας, *the person who seconded him and drew up the resolution.* μετὰ τούτου. With *Æschines*, cf. *oἵος* above, 20. — 16. Ἀγνοόσιος. Hagnus was the name of the deme to which Philocrates (17, note) belonged. It was originally written with a smooth breathing, as if derived from the plant ἀγρος (*ἀγρος*), the *agnus castus*. See Vömel, *Prolegom.*, 144; *Smith's Dic. of Antiq.* and *Dic. of Geog.* — 17. οὐχ ὁ ἐμός. Up to the close of 347 the orator seems to have been at least on good terms with Philocrates, though their policy was not at any time identical. Philocrates was always proposing and advocating peace negotiations in Philip's interest. Demosthenes, whenever he assented to these negotiations, did so under a sense of stern political necessity; for instance, when it became imperative to rescue the prisoners on the capture of Olynthus. After the beginning of 346 the policy of Philocrates was yet more decidedly opposite to that of the orator. The statement of *Æschines* (*de F. L.*, p. 30, c. *Ctes.*, p. 64) that the two were acting in concert is totally inconsistent with historical facts on record. — 19. Εὐβουλος. Of the deme Anaphlystus, the orator and demagogue who supported Midias against Demosthenes. Not to be confounded with the comic poet, whose deme was the Cettian. — Κηφισοφών. Named in the psephisma 29 as one of the ambassadors sent to Philip. "Cephisophon supported *Æschines* in the accusation against Ctesiphon." WHISTON. — ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οἶδαμὲν. It has been the fashion to stigmatize this statement as a deliberate falsehood on the orator's part; but, I think, most unjustly. He is referring only to the peace of the year 346; at least, his language commits him to nothing further; and in all the discussions of that period we cannot find, from historical records, that the orator ever declared himself in favor of the peace proposed by Philocrates. He expressly denies having done so (*de F. L.*, pp. 345, 346). The only evidence that he did is the assertion of *Æschines* (c. *Ctesiph.*, p. 64) that Demosthenes delivered an oration in support of Philocrates on the day of the second assembly. Little credit need be attached to this in any case; but *Æschines* himself (*de F. L.*, p. 36) quotes a ψήφισμα to prove that, on that second day of the assembly, no speaking was allowed and nothing transacted but voting. See Grote. — 22. 20, 21. τούτων... δακνυμένων; *Although these things are so, and shown to be so by the truth itself.* ἐπὶ=on the basis of. — 22. ἀρα. *As it seems*: the lightest of infer-

ential particles implying a sequence and connection, but only a slight one, whether temporal or logical. It frequently, as here, suggests irony=*forsooth*. — 23. αἰτιος. *The guilty cause*. There are two heads of the accusation: (1) making peace, (2) making peace for Athens independently. καί=*also*. On the nominative case see *Madv. Gr. S.* 161; C. 667; Cu. 570; G. 136, N. 2; H. 775. — 24. κοινου συνεδριου. *A general synod met at Athens, formed of representatives from each of the confederate states*. The orator touches here on the much-vexed question, reproduced again and again in the speeches of himself and Æschines, as to the policy they advocated respectively, on the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion (approximately the end of March), in the year 346. Immediately after the fall of Olynthus, in the spring of 347, Athens had sent envoys to all the eligible Grecian states, urging them to join in their own negotiations with Philip, and to take the result, whether peace or war. In the spring of 346 the general synod were sitting to receive the report of these envoys. What actually passed at the sitting has not been put on record, but we can deduce from the conflicting orations: (1) that some of the envoys had returned, but many were still absent; (2) that the synod passed a resolution recommending that two ἐκκλησίαι be convened *immediately on the return of all the envoys*, and that the subject of peace be then and there debated. This recommendation of the confederate Synod was accepted, but only in part. The two assemblies (already mentioned) were held on the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion, and the question of peace was fully discussed. *But this was done without waiting for the return of the absent envoys*. — 25. εἰτ' ὃ—τῷ. *Then you—by what name could one rightly call you*; that is, what name can I find that is bad enough for you. — 26. ἔστιν, *when and where was it that YOU, being present and seeing me robbing the state of so important a negotiation and alliance as you were just now rehearsing, expressed indignation or came forward and made known and explained what you now charge me with*. πρᾶξις καὶ συμμαχία is on no account to be taken as a hendiadys; the former word generalizes what the latter specifies, and πρᾶξις simply means *negotiation*. The emphasis on σὺ must be carefully preserved. The παρα- in παρέρχεσθαι is suggestive: in all the ancient assemblies the speakers were required to address the meeting from a raised platform or pulpit; in passing to it from their seat they would move *before or alongside of* their audience. — 23. P. 9, l. 3, 4. εἰ...ἐπενόησεν ἐνὰ Φιλίππῳ, *if I had sold to PHILIP the preventing, etc., that is,*

if I had been bought (bribed) by Philip to prevent, etc. Observe the emphatic juxtaposition of ἐγώ and Φίλιππον. — 5. λοιπὸν ἦν. You had still the opportunity. This throws an emphasis on the pluperfect ἐπεπράκειν. — 6. τότε. Well then. The particle is much stronger than δα, and almost as strong as οὐν. Both οὐν and τότε are distinctly transitional, as well as being illative. It resembles now then in colloquial English. As regards etymology, οὐν = ἐόν, epic neut. part. of εἶμι, in the acc. abs. (quæ quum ita sint). — 8. εὐκότως. And naturally so. To render the force of this favorite adverb a separate sentence is indispensable. — 9. τότε. "Demosthenes intimates that envoys had been sent previously, viz., just after the fall of Olynthus, to invite the other Greeks to form a confederacy against Philip. He denies that any such embassy was sent out while 'the peace' was negotiating, and in this he seems to speak the truth." GROTE, XI., 508 (Eng. ed.). Whiston; cf. 22, note κοινοῦ συνεδρίου. — 10. ἐξηλεγμένοι. Thoroughly tested, and proved unwilling to unite with Athens against Philip. ἐξ, in composition, of intensity. The perf. passive of ἐλέγχω has always the double reduplication. — 24. 14. αὐτοί. Yourself. αὐτός and its cases, when used emphatically, are placed in a prominent part of the sentence (e. g. the beginning), or else have καί prefixed as an intensive. The force of αὐμα is better expressed with αὐτοί, while at the same time you yourselves. — 15. Εὐρυβάτου. On the rather uncertain authority of Ephorus (the historian of Cumæ) we are told that Eurybatus was a citizen of Ephesus, who received money from Croesus to raise troops for his war with the Persians, and then deserted to the camp of Cyrus. The same name appears to have been borne by one of the Cercopes (fire-diviners). See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 2, p. 1306. In either case the Scholiasts are safe in taking the person mentioned as a type of γόης, κλέπτης, πανούργος. Cf. *Æsch. c. Ctesiph.*, p. 71. — 17. τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι. For with what intent after all? — 18. τότε τῷ καιρῷ. I understand the orator to mean, by this crisis, the date of those two meetings on the recommendation of the Synod. The mission of the envoys having, by then, been proved a complete failure, Athens might be said to have abandoned her task of soliciting the Grecian states with her embassies. Why, asks the orator, should she have resumed it, and for what end should she have asked the states to co-operate? For peace? Nay, but the other states were enjoying that; Athens alone had need of it. For war? Nay, but all idea or possibility of war was over, and peace was the only

question. In this instance, as in the ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ (21, note, s. v.), the orator could justify his statement as virtually true, if not literally. — 21. εἰ ἀρχῆς. The *original* peace of the year 346 is distinguished by this epithet from the peace which followed Chæroneæ. — οὐδ' αἴτιος. *Nor in any way responsible.* οὐτε...οὐτε are co-ordinate, while οὐδέ is subordinate and emphatic. C. 701, c; Cu. 625, Obs.; H. 858, b. — ἡγεμών. All that the orator denies is the fact of his taking a prominent part in the peace proposals of Philocrates (c. *Ctesiph.*, p. 62, 63); he does not say that he opposed peace in the abstract, but only that he neither originated nor supported the peace which was actually made. When the public assembly had agreed to accept it, he did his utmost to make the best of a bad bargain, but that by no means committed him to having approved the measure.

25-28. COMPARE MY POLITICAL CONDUCT WITH THAT OF MY AC-CUSERS, AT THE TIME WHEN THE CITY HAD DECIDED ON PEACE. WHEN THE OATHS HAD BEEN TAKEN BY US AND OUR ALLIES, I PROPOSED A DECREE TO ACCELERATE THE DEPARTURE OF OUR OWN DELEGATES, WHO WERE TO ADMINISTER THE OATHS TO PHILIP. ÆSCHINES IGNORES *this* DECREE, AND ASSAILS ME ABOUT ANOTHER WHICH WAS MERELY TRIVIAL, REFERRING TO THE RECEPTION OF THE MACEDONIAN DELEGATES AT ATHENS.

25. 24. ἐποίησατο=*made on her own part*; the middle ποιῆσθαι having here a fuller sense than it usually has in connection with ἐλή-γηται. On Philip's part, as the context shows us, peace was not yet concluded. — 25. ἐκέλευσε. In the imperative mood the sole force of the aorist, as contrasted with the present, is to indicate a single and complete act instead of a protracted and continuous process. In the subjunctive, optative, and infinitive moods the aorist sometimes exhibits this same difference from the present; at other times it retains its natural force as a preterite. — P. 10, l. 2. ἔγραψα βουλευόν. *Moved a resolution, being a member of the Council.* On the 25th of Elaphebolion the oaths of peace and alliance were administered, to Athens and all her allies, by Antipater, as Philip's delegate. It was now essential for Athens herself to send delegates *with all speed*, and administer the same oath to Philip. Yet for 7 days nothing was done; on the 8th day (Munychion the 3d) a resolution, that delegates should start at once, was proposed by Demosthenes, as he alleges here. Æschines admits it was proposed that day, but does not mention by whom (*de F. L.*, p. 40, l. 28 sq.). According to Demosthenes

(*de F. L.*, p. 390) the delegates on leaving Athens went and stopped at Oreus in Euboea, and wasted many days there before they started for Macedonia. They were fifty days altogether before they achieved the interview with Philip at Pella. This explains the sequel, οὔτοι... ἠθέλησαν. — 4. τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν, to receive the oaths in return (ἀπό). — 26. 6. ἰδύνατο. *Id quo valebat? Of what avail were this?* (Vömel.) — 8. τῶν ὀρκῶν. The oaths on the Athenian part and the oaths on the Macedonian. The genitive dependent on any word of interval (like μεταξύ) specifies the two extreme points between which the interval lies; or one such extreme point, the mention of the other being unnecessary because implied by the context. Cf. the parallel passage *de F. L.*, p. 393, 181, τὸν μεταξύ χρόνον τοῦ τοῦ ὀρκους ἀπολαβεῖν, where one extremity alone is named, the obtaining Philip's attestation. — 11. ἐξέλυσασθε. The active voice is more usual in the sense of *breaking up*. ἐξελύσατε is the reading of Σ here. But the middle voice gives the better additional sense, *on your own part and in your own armaments*. — 13. ἐπραγματίετο. *Was making this his chief concern*. The verb is always of laborious and systematic effort, never transitive, though frequently constructed with a cognate accusative. — 14. τῆς πόλεως. Possessive genitive depending on ὅσα. The state might be said to *possess* these places in Thrace, as the Thracians were their allies [Breml]. The optative προλάβοι (*preoccuparet*) is due to the *oratio obliqua*. — 27. 16. προοράμενος. An historic present, as is also γράφω which follows. Hence followed by the final clause ἵνα γίγνυντο, although ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾗ would strictly belong to the present time; but this is an instance of the common Greek idiom which sacrifices grammar for the sake of vivid and graphic delineation in the subordinate clause. — 21. δίσσους. *Was pulling to pieces*. διασύρειν (always metaphorical) denotes sarcastic ridicule. Cf. *Æschin. c. Ctesiph.*, p. 65, l. 37, οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρῶν Σέρριον τείχος καὶ Μυρτίσκη καὶ Ἐργίσκη... χωρία ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ᾔδειμεν πρότερον, where the perversion of the names is of course intentional. — 22. Σέρραιον. Herod. VII., 59, Livy XXXI., 16. Myrtenus is only found in this passage. Ergiske in *De Halon.*, p. 85. They were all, apparently, places on the sea-coast of Thrace, and hence important to Philip as opening the way for his acquisitions in that quarter. The article seems to be prefixed to these names here because *Æschines* had spoken contemptuously of them. Cf. Phil. III., 16, where Σέρρειον occurs without the article. — 22. οὕτω = under

these circumstances and no others. 7, end. Madvig., 175 a. — 24. *ἐπικαίρους*. Cf. ὦν τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐπιχρῆσθαι. Thucyd., I., 68. — 25. *χρημάτων*. Dissen refers this to the gold mines of Crenides, afterwards called Philippi, from which Philip, when he got possession of them, managed to obtain more than a thousand talents annually. — πολλῶν μὲν...πολλῶν δέ, *an abundant supply both of money and of men*. — 26. *ἐκ τούτων*, from these, as source and means. — 28. P. 11, l. 1. εἰ. We should rather expect this object-sentence to be introduced by *ὅτι*, but the use of *εἰ*, instead, is common after verbs expressing disapprobation. *But that I, being on the Council, thought proper to introduce the ambassadors*, sc. into the theatre, as was customary at Athens, *this is a matter he taunts me about*. — 3. *ἔχρην*. *Ought to have*: strictly imperfect: it was right to do it, but it was not done. — 4. *μή*. To be taken closely with *προσάγειν*, *γράφαι* preceding = *ought I to have moved not to introduce*. This is obvious from the *μὴ κατανεῖμαι* of the next clause. — 5. *διαλεχθῶσιν*. On the subjunctive after the historic tenses, see Madv., 181 b, and note on 27, *προσφόμενος*. C. 653; Cu. 531 b; G. 216, 2; H. 740. — *ἀρχιτέκτονα*. The person who hired the theatre from the state, kept it in order and repair, and took the profits of the admission payments: analogous to our "lessee." He was also called *θεατρῶνης* and *θεατροπώλης*. — *θέαν κατανεῖμαι*, to assign them seats, literally (like *λόγον διδόναι*, 13), to allow them a seeing: *θέαν καταλαμβάνειν* is the correlative expression. c. *Mid* 572. — 6. *τοῖν δυοῖν* = the unreserved places, literally, in the two oboli seats. The price is put for the locus. Two obols was the payment demanded from everybody except those who received, by privilege, reserved seats (*προεδρία*). The poorer citizens were often presented, from the Theoric fund, with the money to pay for admission (*Philip.*, 4, p. 141). Some editors understand *ἐν* of the means, i. e. *by payment of*; but less aptly. — 9. *λέγε*, i. q. *ἀναγίγνωσκε*. The latter is more strictly correct, but the former equally common. *λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λέγε*, *Plat. Theaet.*, 143 c. *λέγειν* suggests the vocal element of reading, *ἀναγίγνωσκεν* suggests the intellectual. The latter strictly means to re-know, know up, or know thoroughly, which can only be by reading a written document. The orator is here addressing the secretary (*γραμματεὺς*) of the Archons.

29. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Clearly not a genuine document. And the same may be said of all the documents, of which thirty-four are appealed

to and twenty-seven given at length, in this oration. The question is too voluminous by far for discussion in the present work, but the points of interest will be briefly noticed in their places. For further information, see Böckh (*Comm. de Archontibus Pseudonymis, apud Acta Academiae Borussicae*, 1827), Droysen (*Museum Rhenanum*, Vol. II., 1845). An attempted defence of these documents as genuine will be found in Böhneck (*Quæst.*, Vol. I., p. 321 sq.) and Vömel (*Museum Rhenanum*, 1842, p. 535). In a paper on "The Chronology of some of the Events mentioned in Demosthenes on the Crown," read by Professor W. W. Goodwin of Harvard University before the American Philological Association, at its meeting in New Haven, in 1872, the authority of these documents is discussed. The Professor says that, if these documents are taken as authority, it is absolutely impossible to make any consistent chronology of the events which preceded the battle of Chæroneæ, and it will strike every one who examines the subject that not a single name of an Archon, and not a single date given in the documents, can be shown to be correct. See Transactions of the Am. Phil. Assoc., 1871 and 1872. See, also, a concise *resumé* of the arguments, on both sides, in Professor Champ-
lin's "Appendix on the Documents," in his edition of the "Oration on the Crown." — *Μνησιφίλου*. The real name of the Archon in 347 B. C. was Themistocles. — *ἑκατομβαιῶνος*. The meeting was held on Munychion the 3d, not on Hecatombæon the 30th. For the names of the Attic months, and the manner of numbering the days of the month, see Lid. and Sc. Lex., and Smith's Dic. of Antiq., Greek Calendar. From the same sources, the student should also acquaint himself with the constitution of the *βουλή*, and the presidency (*πρυτανεία*) of the *ἐκκλησία*. — *δεδύχθαι*. The usual elliptic infinitive in public proclamations, [*δ δεῖνα*] *εἶπεν* being understood. The reading *δεδύχθω* is found, but is obviously a mere correction. — *καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*. This is incorrect. Referring to the same decree in the *de F. L.*, 389, the orator says *γράφω ψήφισμα βουλευόν, τὴν βουλὴν ποιήσαντος τοῦ δήμου κυρίαν*. That is, the *δῆμος* had given absolute power to the *βουλή* to pass *ψηφίσματα* for the time on their own authority. The *δῆμος*, therefore, had nothing to do with this *ψήφισμα*. *Æschines, de F. L.*, p. 40, calls it distinctly *τὸ βουλῆς ψήφισμα*. — *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ*. Peace was agreed to on Elaphebolion the 19th, which was the day of the *second* assembly, not the *first*. *τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐν ᾗ τὴν εἰρήνην εἶδει κυροῦσθαι*. *de F. L.*, p. 345. — *ὑπερβολὴν* never means

delay in classical Greek. In Σ a correction, *ἀναβολή*, has been inserted by a later hand. — *καὶ δοῦναι*. But the oath of Athens and their allies had already been received by Antipater. The envoys were solely commissioned to administer the oath to Philip. *Sup.* 27. — *πρέσβεις*. The ambassadors were *ten* in number, and a list of them will be found in the Argument to the *de F. L.* None of the names in this *ψήφισμα* appears there excepting that of Æschines.

30. IN SPITE OF MY DECREE THE ENVOYS THREW AWAY THEIR OPPORTUNITIES, BEING BRIBED TO DO SO BY PHILIP.

13. *φροντίσαντες* has for its object the contents of the concessive clause *ταῦτα... ζητοῦντος*, *whereas I had moved this psephisma and was seeking the interest of the state, and not that of Philip, these worthy ambassadors caring little about it.* — P. 12, l. 1. *τρεῖς μῆνας*. They were absent from Athens 26 days of Munychion, all Thargelion, and 13 days of Skirophorion. But this included their journey to Macedon and back, so that *δλου* is rather a stretch of imagination. — 3. *ἡμερῶν*. The rationale of this genitive of time (*within*) may be stated thus. As the genitive plural, dependent on a word of *interval*, specifies the two extreme points between which the interval lies, so the genitive can stand adverbially to represent two extremes with an interval between them. Note *δρκων*, 26. Compare C. 433; G. 179; Cu. 426; H. 591. — 6. *ἡμῶν*. Demosthenes himself was one of the embassy, but no doubt he may mean by *ἡμῶν* that the embassy represented the nation at large. *παρόντων* is imperfect. — 7. *Or else*. Madv., 186, r. 1. — 7. *διημαρτήκα*. The pluperfect with *ἄν* expresses the completeness of the failure in the supposed case, and the *δι-* still further intensifies the word = *forever and utterly*. — 8. *ἄν εἶχε*. Philip was holding the places still; if he had lost them again the orator would have said *ἄν ἔσχε*. Note, 9, *ἄν ἀπελογούμεν*.

31-37. ANOTHER ACT OF VILLANY FOLLOWED. BRIBED BY PHILIP, THEY MADE YOU THE REPORT WHICH LED TO HIS SEIZURE OF THERMOPYLE AND DESTRUCTION OF THE PHOCIANS. I ONLY ALLUDE TO THIS EXTRANEOUS MATTER BECAUSE ÆSCHINES HAS DONE THE LIKE IN HIS ACCUSATION. REMEMBER THE PARTICULARS OF THAT HISTORICAL CRISIS.

31. 11. *δωροδόκημα*. *Piece of venality*. The concrete put for the abstract. — 13. *πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι*. *I am at war and enmity*; active hostility is implied by *πολεμεῖν*, passive by *διαφέρεισθαι*. A somewhat different view is taken by Kennedy, who holds this to be

an anti-climax, and translates "war and variance." See his note on the passage. — 14. ἐφεξῆς. *Deinceps*, in immediate succession, like the links of a chain, which would be said *ἔχειν αὐτῶν*. — 32. 17. διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πασθέντας. In consequence of these men not having obeyed at all. — 18. παρ' αὐτῶν, i. e. those envoys who were venal: this third person contrasts well with the first person in *ἀπὼμεν*, the orator including himself by the latter as he excludes himself by the former. Σ, however, reads *ἀπώσω*. — 20. ποιήσονται. In historic consecution introduced by the historic present *ὤνεται*. *Sup.*, 27, *προσώμενος*. — 21. μᾶλλον. The present tense is the direct form of quotation instead of the indirect, *when we had reported that he intends* (root *μεν*=*minds*, *means*) and *is preparing*. — 23. ὥσπερ πρότερον, i. e. in the year 353 (Whiston says, "about May, 352"; Grote, "about midsummer, 352"), when Philip wanted to effect a junction with the Thebans against the Phocians, by forcing his way through Thermopylæ, which the Phocians were then endeavoring to hold. An Athenian force was despatched with unusual expedition, under Nausicles, and placed Thermopylæ beyond the possibility of Philip's attack. The orator is constantly alluding to this. *Phil.*, I., p. 44; *de F. L.*, p. 444, etc. — 24. ἀλλ' ἅμα. *But that, at one and the same moment, you might be listening to us, and he be within Pylæ, and you have nothing left you to do.* It is not, I think, correct to understand *ἔχειν* here of *ability*=*and you be able to do nothing*; the sense would be much the same of course, but the graphic force of *μηδὲν ἔχειν* would be lost. — 33. 27. καί. Strongly concessive=*even though*. — P. 13, l. 2. τὰ πράγματα. *His affairs should slip from his grasp.* A poetical use of *ἐκφεύγω*. τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον | ἀλωτὸν. ἐκφεύγει δὲ τὰ μελούμενον, *Soph. O. R.*, 110. — 3. μισθοῦται. On the difference between *ὥστε* with the indicative and the infinitive see *Madv.* 166 a; *C.* 671; *Cu.* 565; *H.* 770, 771. In brief, the distinction is that the infinitive following *ὥστε* expresses a result more as a conception, the indicative more as a reality. Here the *hiring* is expressly asserted as a fact. The distinction of time suggested by Holmes is obscure, and, like too many of his grammatical distinctions, fanciful. — 34. 6. ἀξιώ δέ. *I require and entreat you.* In contrast with *δεῖσθαι*, *ἀξιοῦν* signifies to *ask as a right*. ἡξίου καὶ παρεκελεύοντο ἐπεξελεῖν, p. 515; ἡξίου δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτῷ δὲ ἐκείνου γίγνεσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις, p. 553. — 10. ἕτερον. Here in the sense of *ἀλλότριον*, *foreign*, i. e. *irrelevant*, a very rare use. *ἕτερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμὲ*, p. 240. Cf. the parallel passage in 9, where

τάλλα is somewhat similarly put. — ἄμα, sc. τοῖς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, into the bargain. — αἰτίας, 57, αἰτίας καὶ διαβολάς. — 11. τούτου κορημέ-
νου expresses a reason = *inasmuch as he has made use of*. — 35. 13. *παρά*. An elegant substitute for the more obvious *ὑπό*. On the part of. Conversely *ὑπό* is substituted for *παρά*. *πληγὰς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαβών*, p. 514 (fin.). — 14. ὡς οὐ δεῖ. Direct quotation again instead of indirect. Here, besides being more vigorous, it has the advantage of professedly quoting the speech of Æschines *verbatim*. — 18. ἤκε preserves both its forces in this passage, a virtual perfect and an actual present: *he has been coming*. An instance of the adverbial accusative occurs immediately after in *τοῦναντίον*. — 19. τὰ ῥήματα. "For ties of union," quoth he, in his very imposing phraseology, "are cemented, not by words but by identity of interests." — 22. ἀναλγησίας. Brutality or stupidity. *μὴ τλῆς ἀπαπτον ὧδ' ἀναλγήτως βαλεῖν*, Soph., *Aj.* 1333. Insensibility to pain taken as a type of all want of feeling. The epithet is notorious as applied to the Thebans. Cf. *οἱ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι*, p. 61, p. 240. *ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος Βοιωτίαν ἔν*, Pind. *Ol.* VI., 90. — 23. βαρύτητος. Oppressiveness. A rare sense of the word, almost without example. We find *ἀηδίας καὶ βαρύτητας* (Isocr. p. 239), and *ἀηδία καὶ ἀναισθησία* (Dem. p. 564), which would rather lead us to expect that *βαρύτης* should mean *vezatiousness*. That the word, however, is of more serious import we gather from *οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς Θηβαῖοι*, 19, and *πόλεμος δημοῖς καὶ βαρύν*, 241. Whiston renders it *overbearing insolence*. — 36. 25. *ὑποῦσαν*. Underlying. They were not at open war, but the state of ill feeling was chronic, 18, note *ἐφησθῆναι*. There are various readings, *οὔσαν* Cod. c, *ὑπάρχουσιν* Aug. Vind., etc. (Vömel). — 26. *οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν* is a meiosis, stronger in meaning than *εὐθύς*. This proleptic use of *εἰς* is noticed in *Madv. Gr. S.* 79 a. — 27. *κατασκαφῆναι*. The fortifications were destroyed and the towns broken up into villages. Abæ was the only exception, either because it contained an oracle of Apollo, or because it had not been a party to plundering the Delphic treasury. Pausanias, X., 3. 2. Grote. — P. 14, l. 1. *ἀγαγόντας*. This participle and the next introduce causal sentences, *Madv. Gr. S.*, 176 b. — 2. *σκεναγωγεῖν*. Brought in your effects from the country. Ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὸ δασυ, Thucyd. II., 52. *καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατακομίζειν ἐψηφίσθε καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐπισκευάζειν*, Dem., de *F. L.*, p. 379 (fin.). *διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀνάνδριαν καὶ ἄμα φόβον ἐσκεναγώγησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*, Æschin. de *F. L.*, p. 46. In such migrations to the shelter

of fortified walls, the rural population would naturally bring with them as many of their chattels as possible. *σκεύη* describes everything in the way of furniture excepting fixtures. They also brought their live stock. — 3. *χρυσίον* (strictly *a piece of gold*) is used by Æschines repeatedly of *gold given as a bribe*, pp. 78, 88, etc., where he is speaking of the bribes offered by Persia, τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον, p. 75. Possibly the use of his adversary's favorite word is meant by the orator to be a special taunt. — 4. *ἀπέχθειαν*. *Our city got all the ill-will on the part of Thebes and Thessaly, and Philip all the gratitude connected with what had been done.* We should rather have expected *πρός* to be followed by a genitive here; as it is written, we must understand that Athens had to take up an attitude of *defence against* them. A similar use of *πρός* will be found in p. 368, ὑμῶν μὲν τὴν ἐχθρὰν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους μελίζω, Φίλιππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκεν. — 37. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. The inscription (Μνησιφίλου) and the date of this document (δεκατῇ ἀπώντος) condemn it at once as spurious. The contents, however, are fairly consistent with allusions the orator makes himself, *de F. L.*, 379 (cited 36, σκευαγωγῶν). He there alludes to the *φορτρία* being put in repair; here there is reference to their being garrisoned also. He there dwells on the migration of the inhabitants, here there is mention of the moving of their furniture. Yet Whiston and Newman take the opposite view, and consider the purport of this decree to conflict with the passage in the *de F. L.* — Μνησιφίλου. Sup. 29. — συγκλήτου. The *special* assembly, as distinct from the regular (κυρία), was convened by special officers; sometimes by the generals only, sometimes by a joint order of the generals and the Prytanes. If *καί* is rightly excluded by Dindorf, the latter would be intended here; if, with Brems and Vömel, we retain *καί*, the sense becomes *by order of the generals, Prytanes, and Council.* — δεκάτῃ ἀπώντος. The 30th. Vid. CALENDAR in Dict. of Antiq. But, as Dissen observes, the month Mæmacterion B. C. 346, would, according to Meton's cycle, contain 29 days only. — παρευρίσαι. The word is a *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*: the Greek of the period would substitute *προφάσαι*: Herodotus certainly uses *παρευρίσκειν*, as Mr. Newman remarks; but Herodotus uses it in quite a different sense, not *to make a pretext of*, but *to detect in*. ἐς οὐ ἀποθάνωσι, ἡ σφί παρευρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, III., 31. — κοιταῖον. Greek of a later age, used twice by Polybius and once by Plutarch. The Greek of the period would substitute *κοιμάσθαι*. ἀπόκοιτος is classical, Æschin., p. 45, l. 2: but ἀποκοιτεῖν (inf.) and

ἀφημερέβειν are both ἀπαξ λεγόμενα. The great number of unclassical words in these documents is alone sufficient to condemn them as spurious. — ἀποσταγμένοι. *Detached for the outlying garrisons*, as distinct from those who were τεταγμένοι in the city itself.

38. ἀδύνατον. *Insuperable difficulty* = legitimate excuse. Cf. p. 262, l. 23. — ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων. *Commanding the heavy infantry* = ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, (148); (ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων (ib.)). We might possibly take ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, as *president of the armory department*. This officer is never mentioned excepting here and in 147; we have no description of his duties, nor can we be certain that such an office existed. It would be, however, a natural arrangement for each of the ten generals to take his special department and be designated in accordance therewith. — ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως. *The general of the administration*, who performed various civil services more or less connected with the army. See under Στρατηγός in Dict. of Antiq. — Ἐλευσίνα. This and the other four are among the φρόβρια already alluded to. — 10. ἐπὶ = *with, literally on the ground of*. Observe the emphatic position of μισθωτός.

39-41. READ PHILIP'S LETTER OF THAT DATE. MARK HOW HE DEFIES THE POWER OF ATHENS, AND THEREBY SEDUCES TO HIS CAUSE THE THEBANS AND THE THESSALIANS. ÆSCHINES WORKED WITH HIM HEART AND SOUL FOR THAT RUIN OF THEBES WHICH HE NOW AFFECTS TO DEPLORE. HE, FORSOOTH, HAS GOT HIS REWARD IN THE SHAPE OF THEBAN LAND: I HAVE MINE IN THE MENACES OF ALEXANDER, WHICH ACTUALLY IMPERILLED MY LIFE.

39. P. 15. ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. It is generally agreed that this document is spurious. Vömel alone defends it as genuine. A discussion of its merits is given by Böhneck (*Qu.*, Vol. I., p. 418). — χαίρειν. *Greeting*. Cf. δεδύχθαι, 29, note. — ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦς. Whiston pronounces this expression to be "strange and not ordinary Greek." It is, however, perfectly classical. τάδε πάντα περδασσθαι ὑπὸ σφᾶς ποιέσθαι, Thuc., IV., 61. ἑαυτῶν is not unfrequently used of the 1st and 2d persons. — προσετίθετο. Disson strangely considers this as a euphemism for forcible subjection. But ἐκουσίως implies distinctly a *voluntary association*, contrasted with τὰ μὴ ὑπακούοντα...κατεσκάψαμεν. Cf. 195, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο. — εἰσαγγοχέτας. Buttmann has a valuable article on this and similar forms (*Lexil.* s. v., ἀνέροθεν, p. 139). — κατὰ κράτος. *By force*. This is inconsistent, as Disson remarks, with the passage in the *de F. L.*, p. 360, τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν

πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκείῳσι ἀλῶναι πολιορκίᾳ μὴδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σπείσασθαι πάντας ἀρδῆν ἀπολέσθαι, μέγιστόν ἐστι σημεῖον τοῦ διὰ τούτους πεισθέντας αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου σωθήσονται ταῦτα παθεῖν. Jacobs, however, insinuates that the orator thus perverted the facts to exaggerate the guilt of Æschines. — τοῖς ὅλοις. *Absolutely.* So τοῖς ὅλοις ἠγγίσθαι ἐνύμζον, p. 127 (*fin.*). Yet Newman, indorsed by Whiston, calls the phrase a "striking peculiarity." τὰ ὅλα, in the sense of *one's all*, is, on the contrary, extremely common, and the adverbial usage here is derived immediately from it. Whiston renders it, *in short*. — οὐδὲν μέτριον. *Anything but what is fair.* A meiosis rather than a euphemism. Dissen, however, maintains the latter. — ὁμοίως. *All the same.* A sense nearly approaching that of the contracted ὁμῶς. So 110, ὁμοίως τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι. — ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες. Imperfect of desire = *inclined to take the field*, contrasted with the aorist συνθέμενοι of what they had *actually* done. They had not gone to war, it is true, but it is equally true that they were thinking about it. — συμπεριλημμένων. *de F. L.*, p. 444, τὴν μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνην ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ ταῖς ἐπαγωγαῖς ἐβρόντο παρ' ὑμῶν ἀνευ Φωκίων. The Phocians were not mentioned in the treaty of peace, and thus their exclusion from its benefits was virtual though not special. — προτερήσετε. *You will get no advantage save that of being aggressors in wrong.* Whiston again considers the Greek "remarkable and unusual." Certainly προτερεῖν (in this sense) is common in Aristotle, and must have been quite accordant with Macedonian usage. And ἔξω, meaning *except*, is found in Herod., VII., 29; Thucyd., V., 97, etc., etc. — 40. 2. τοὺς συμμάχους. τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς. — 3. ἐγὼ stands well in emphasis at the beginning of this sentence. Cf. ἐμοὶ μὲν below. The ordinary reading was ταῦτα ἐγὼ. Dindorf restored ἐγὼ ταῦτα from Σ. — 8. ἔχερο λαβόν. Lit. *went off with*, i. e. *carried off along with him* a very frequent combination. ἀπαντας ὑμᾶς λαβὼν ἔχερο, p. 347. τὴν ἱερὰν... ὥχετ' ἔχων τριήρη, he carried off the sacred trireme, Phil., I., 34. — εἰς τό. The state of feeling into which he hurried them is introduced by *eis*, as if it were a material locus. *By these means he carried them away with him (transported them, as it were,) into an utter blindness and insensibility to the consequences.* Or *eis* may denote the extent to which he transported them out of themselves, *he carried them away with him to such an extent that they foresaw none of the consequences.* — 9. προορᾶν of the future, contrasted with αἰσθάνεσθαι of the present. The force of the aorist

ἔσσαι is striking. Their blindness was chronic and continuous; their surrender into his hands was single and complete at that moment. — 10. *ἑφ' ἑαυτῷ* is stronger than *ὑφ' αὐτούς* (39) in the ratio of a case of *station* to a case of *motion*. The latter describes the *process* of subjugation, the former the *state* of actual subjection. — 41. 13. *συναγωνιστής*. The element *-αγων-* in this and in *συναγωνίσασθε* (20) suggests the *energy* and *activity* of his support; far stronger than *συνεργός*. Inf. 61. — 15. *διεξιών*. *Reciting*. An allusion, as before (13, *ἐτραγῆδα*), to his histrionic profession. — *καὶ τούτων... αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος*, *when he is himself the author both of these calamities* (sc. of the Thebans) *and those of the Phocians*. — P. 16, l. 1. *δῆλον*. The natural prefix to a sentence of irony. — 3. *κτήματα*. Dissen cites the *de F. L.*, 386, *ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων συμμάχων χώρα κτήματα καὶ γεωργίαι παμπληθεῖς*, *Φιλοκράτει μὲν τάλαντον ἔχουσai πρόσδοσιν, τούτῳ δ' Ἀισχίνῃ, τριάκοντα μῶς*. — *ἔχων* = *although you hold*. — 5. *ἑξητομένην*. *Was demanded as a victim*. Alexander had requested the surrender of ten Athenian orators (Arrian says, eight) immediately after the destruction of Thebes. Plutarch, *Vita Demosth.*, 23, *Vita Phocion.*, 17; Diodorus, 17, 15.

42. I RETURN TO THE SUBJECT.

7. *Ἀλλὰ γάρ*. An elliptic construction = *ἀλλὰ [μηκέτι ταῦτα εἶπω, ἐγὼ] γάρ*. A similar insertion is always implied wherever we find the phrase. *However* gives an adequate translation. — *ἐμπίπτωκα*. 256. *eis τοιοῦτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι*. The use of the verb in this connection is rare. But we have also *ἐμπίπτειν eis λουδορίαν*, p. 73, l. 17. — *αὐτίκα*. Hermogenes, citing this passage, adds *μάλα ὕστερον* and omits *μᾶλλον*. The word *αὐτίκα* not unfrequently implies a *future* immediate sequence, *ὅν μὲν οὖν ὡς οἴμεθα τὴν εὐδαίμονα πλάττομεν... αὐτίκα δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν σκεψόμεθα*, Plat., *Rep.*, 420 C. — 9. *ἀποδείξεις*. *Demonstrative proofs*, opposed to *εἰκότα* and *πιθανολογία*, Plat., *Theaet.*, 163 A; Aristot., *Eth. N.*, I., 1 (3), *παραπλήσιον γὰρ φαίνεται μαθηματικῷ τε πιθανολογοῦντος ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ ῥητορικὸν ἀποδείξεις ἀπαιτεῖν*.

42—49. OBSERVE THE SEQUEL AFTER THE FALL OF THE PHOCIANS. THEBES AND THESSALY WERE DEVOTED TO PHILIP. THE REST OF GREECE SUSPECTED HIM, BUT KEPT THE PEACE. PHILIP'S MILITARY MOVEMENTS THEN WERE THE STEPPING-STONE TO HIS FINAL CONQUEST. I WARNED THE CITIES OF THIS, BUT IN VAIN. INDOLENT OR VENAL, THEY REFUSED TO RISE. THE RESULT HAS BEEN RUIN TO THEM, RUIN TO THE STATESMEN WHOM PHILIP CORRUPTED, AND

OF WHOM HE NOW HAS EXPRESSED HIS CONTEMPT, THE ENDS FOR WHICH HE HIRED THEM BEING OBTAINED. YOU, ÆSCHINES, ARE TRULY AN EXCEPTION; YOU REMAIN IN SECURITY AND PAY. AND WHY? BECAUSE THE END FOR WHICH PHILIP HIRED YOU WAS THWARTED THROUGHOUT BY MY OWN STEADFAST OPPOSITION.

42. 11. *ὑπὸ*. Of the agent, contrasting well with *διὰ* of his instruments. — 13. *οὐδὲν ἀληθές*. *φανακίας ὑμῶς*, 41; *λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες*, κ. τ. λ., 35. — 43. 15. *κατάπτυστοι*. Dissen refers this to the general detestation felt by the Greeks for the Thessalians. They are spoken of as *ἄπιστοι*, *διπλοῖ*, and branded for *ἀταξία*, *ἀκολασία*. Cf. Athen., VI., p. 260; Plat., *Crit.*, 53 D. They wished for the total destruction of Phocis (*Æschin.*, *F. L.*, pp. 46, 47). — 16. *Θηβαῖοι*. Their attachment to Philip is accounted for by the orator *de F. L.*, p. 385, *πρώτον μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνην γέγονεν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦσι καὶ ταλαιπωρούμενοις ἥδη τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἡττωμένοις*, εἶτα νῦν ἐχθρῶν Φωκῶν ἄρδην διέθρος καὶ ὅλων τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀναίρεσις, κ. τ. λ. — 17. *πάντα*. All in all. Whiston cites Thucyd., VIII., 95: *Εὐβοία γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἦν*. — 18. *φονήν*. 10, *μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχοιτο*, note. — *ἤκουον*. Imperfect of desire = *would not*. The imperfect optative, *βούλοιο*, which follows, is due to the historic consecution, and gives to *εἰ* the same distributive force which *ἐάν* possesses in a primary consecution. — 19. *ὑφορρόμενοι*. Always metaphorical = *suspicientes*. *ὑποβλέπω* is sometimes literal. *Though viewing with suspicion what had been done, and feeling aggrieved at it*. WHISTON. — 21. *καί*, also. This sense is marked by the *δέ* which follows *ἄλλοι*. Cf. *καὶ παραλείπω δὲ πολλά*, c. *Mid.* — 24. *ἐκ πολλοῦ*. For a long time past: i. e. his movements had been virtually hostile to their safety in all his Illyrian campaign. *Ἐκ* indicates the date at which the danger first began, the period *since* which events are happening. — *πολεμούμενοι*. *Beset by war*. He means, of course, unconsciously to themselves. A strong antithesis to *ἦγον εἰρήνην*. To explain the paradox he gives the fuller details comprised in the next sentence. On the concessive construction of *καί* with a participle see Madv., *Gk. S.*, 175, e = *even though*. — 44. 24. *ὅτε*. Of the period, 346 to 340 B. C., we have no records, as Grote remarks, to "form a consecutive history"; we can only gather an outline of facts from the speeches of the orator and Æschines. The term *περιών* is very appropriate to Philip's incessant and rapid movements, and the wide area over which he directed operations. His invasion, here named, of the Illyrians appears to have been directly

after he had settled his position in Thessaly, and garrisoned the town of Phæræ: i. e. in the year 344 or 343. The invasion, here named, of the Triballi is nowhere else alluded to. It must have been prior to the declaration of war in the year 340, and therefore cannot be the campaign which is mentioned by Justin (IX., 2. 3), the date of which was 339. As to Philip's *gradually subjugating some of the Greeks themselves*, that remark has reference less to the force of his arms than to the intrigues of statesmen in his pay and interest. His actual military operations directed against any Grecian states at this particular crisis were (1) the support of Messene and Argos against Sparta, (2) the support of the oligarchic revolutionists at Elis and in Eubœa, and (3) the occupation of the Thracian Chersonese which menaced the Greek cities of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. This last prospect and his actual possession of Thrace and Thessaly would realize the *δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας* here alluded to. — 26. *δυνάμεις*. *Copias. Resources*. The supplies of money and troops which the regions he thus annexed to his empire would contain and place at his disposal. — 27. *τῶν πόλεων*. Always of the independent Grecian states, when no specification is added beyond that of the article. — P. 17, l. 1. *ἔξουσι-α*. *The facility offered by the peace*, which enabled them to communicate *personally* with Philip, and accept his overtures of corruption. *ἐπὶ*, in *reliance upon*, *ἐκείνῳ*, to Philip. — 2. *τότε*. *Then*, i. e. throughout all that period and under all those circumstances. This is indicated by the imperfect tenses. — 4. *ἔτερος*. i. q. *ἄλλοτριος*, *sup.* 34, note *ἕτερον*. — 45. 4. *Ἐγὼ μὲν... διαμαρτυρόμην*, for *I, for my part, was continually forewarning and protesting*. — 6. *ἄπο*, i. e. to Peloponnesus, Ambracia, Leucas, Corcyra, the Illyrians, Thessaly, Thrace, Byzantium, Thebes, *inf.*, p. 308, 244. — *ἐνόσουν*. *Were mad*. *κλύω δ' ἐγὼ μεμνηνὸν' οὐ μικρὰν νόσον*, *Æsch.*, *P.*, v. 974. Others translate *were morally diseased, demoralized*. *Θετταλοὶ νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσι*, p. 22, l. 7. *προσάγεσθαι δὲ τὸ νοσοῦν τῆς πόλεως*, *Æschin.*, p. 51 (*fin.*). — 7. *πολιτεύεσθαι*. *Engaged in politics and action*. *πράττειν* is limited in sense to those who are actually *serving*: *πολιτεύεσθαι* includes the idea of *deliberative* statesmanship also. — 9. *πολλῶν*. The article *τῶν* preceding *ιδιωτῶν* has to be repeated here. *Private* (i. e. *unofficial*) *persons and the commons in general*, *οὐ μόνον περὶ τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων*, *Æschin.*, p. 2, l. 2. *ἀν τε δεινοὶ λάχουσιν ἀν τε ιδιώται*, *Dem.*, p. 50, l. 6. — 6. *τῶν μὲν... πρᾶτταν* = *the politicians and those engaged in public affairs on the one hand*. —

8. τῶν δὲ...πολλῶν = the private citizens and the commons on the other. — τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ = partly...partly. C. 518, d; Cu. 369; G. 143; H. 525. — 10. δελεαζομένων. Caught with the bait of present ease and comfort. Reluctant to forego their luxurious state of nonchalance and exemption from trouble. The force of δελεαζομένοις is fully illustrated by Isocrates, p. 166 (inil.), ὁμοία πάσχοντας τοῖς δελεαζομένοις τῶν ζώων, καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀπολαύοντας ὧν ἂν λάβωσω, ὁλίγω δ' ὅστερον ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ὄντας. — 11. πλὴν οὐκ. An obvious ellipsis of παντάχως precedes. The construction of οὐκ is a pleonasm as in μάλλον ἢ οὐ, Thucyd., III., 36. If you say παντάχως ἔξει πλὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦς, you deny of ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦς, what you affirm of παντάχως. Hence the redundant οὐ makes its entrance. See Buttm., *Mid.*, Exc. xi., παντάχως πλέουσα πλὴν οὐκ εἰς Ἀθήνας, Dem., p. 1290, l. 4. Translate *anywhere but to*. It is strange that Dobree should have proposed the omission of πλὴν, which would certainly destroy the particular point of the sentence. — 14. ὅταν βούλωνται. *Arbitrio suo*. Cf. Aristot., *Rhet.*, I., 7, ὅταν γὰρ βούλωνται ὑπάρχει μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ βεβαίου [χρήσις]. — 46. 15. ῥαθυμίας. *Indifference*. This word applies more expressly to the feelings, ῥαστώνῃ to the consequent and consistent behavior. — 16. προσεττήκοσι. *Leaders*, including the idea of protectors and champions. — 18. πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι. In the simple sentence the words would have run ἦσθοντο ἑαυτοῖς πεπρακότες: this is varied by the sentence beginning with συμβέβηκε, and then the participle has inevitably to fall into concord with αὐτοῖς. αἰσθέσθαι is subject of συμβέβηκε. The influence of τοῖς extends to οἰομένοις: and to the leading men and those who supposed they were selling everything but themselves, to discover (see and feel) that they had sold themselves first. — ξένων. *Plighted friends*, i. e. pledged to reciprocal hospitalities. German *Gastfreund*: & is neuter to agree with ὀνόματα implied in ὠνομάζοντο. — 20. ἀκούουσιν. *Audiant*. They hear the appellation in connection with themselves, i. e. bear the name of. The usage is too common both in Gk. and Lat. to need illustration here. It has only to be observed that ἀκοῦεν in this construction has the same case before it as after it. C. 575; Cu. 392; H. 540. — 47. 23. ἄν. By attraction for τοῦτω &: not a partitive genitive. — 25. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄν. An ellipsis of ἄλλως. The construction is very common, Aristot., *Rhet.*, I., 3 contains a good instance, οἱ δ' ἀδικεῖ οὐδέποτε ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἔδει δίκης. Translate here: *For else nothing would have been a more blessed creature than a traitor*. The neuter marks contempt. Madv.,

Gk S., I., b. 3. — 26. *πῶθεν*; The favorite ironical question: stronger in the orator's lips than the strongest negative. *Impossible! Ridiculous!* — 27. *ἐγκαταῖς*. *Has planted himself in full possession of his object*, *καταστῆ* suggests the security of his position, *ἐγκαταῖς* the completeness of his conquest. For *πεπρακέναι*, *sup.* 46, he now substitutes its synonyme, *ἀποδοῦναι*. — P. 18, l. 1. *καί* = *also*: *he is master also of those who gave them over* (sold them) to him. This clause is the apodosis, as is shown by the mood of the verbs *καταστῆ* and *ἐστί*. The editor of the English edition made the apodosis begin with *τῇν δέ*. But *δέ* is connective = *and*. Whiston makes the same mistake. — 2. *τότε δέ*. *From that instant*. On the emphasis conveyed by *δή*, *vid. sup.* note *δήπου*, 21. The ethica, politica, and rhetoric of these sections are alike remarkable, and have been often remarked by commentators. — 48. 5. *καίρις δέ*. *δέ* γὰρ ἡβῶ τοῖς γέροντιν ἐδ μαθεῖν, *Æsch.*, *Ag.*, 590. Though the time of action be gone by irretrievably, the lesson can be pointed at any time with advantage. — 6. *Λασθένης* betrayed Olynthus to Philip, and was afterwards put to death by him *de F. L.*, p. 426, 451; *De Cherson.*, p. 99. So the editor of the English edition. But it seems to be a mistaken inference from the language of Demosthenes. An anecdote related by Plutarch shows that Lasthenes was resident at the court of Philip at a subsequent time. Timolaus occurs again below, p. 324, in the list of traitors. Simus and Eudicus were of the great Aleuad family in Thessaly. For the persons and places here named, see Smith's Dictionaries. — 8. *ἀπώλει*. Chæroneia was the date of Theban ruin. Thessalian subjection dated from the occupation of Pheræ in 344, 343. The repetition of *μέχρι τούτου* is emphatic and highly artistic. The rhetoric is as perfect as the political lesson is sound. — *εἴτα*. *So then*, inferential; or, *since then*, temporal. The former seems the more vigorous translation, but the latter is more probable. *Since then the whole land is become full of traitors driven from city to city and insulted*, — *nay, what misery is there which they do not suffer?* WHISTON. *τί κακὸν οὐχί*; by a simple periphrasis for *ἅπαντα κακά*. Cf. *Æsch.*, *Ag.*, 543, *τί δ' οὐ στένορες, οὐ λαχόντες, ἡμῶς μένος*; — 11. *ἡ οἰκουμένη*. According to Reiske, *terra a Græcis habitata*. He cites also p. 85, l. 17. But it may be doubted whether Demosthenes intended so extreme a limitation: certainly Herodotus does so in IV., 110, but that one instance is hardly conclusive. *οἰκουμένη* is doubtless used in a popular and rhetorical sense. — 12. *τί δ'*; An ellipsis of *πέποι-*

θεν derived from πασχόντων. — 'Απίστροφος. Of this τύραννος, and the history of Sicyon at the period, no record is preserved except the present and that on p. 324. — 13. Περδίκας attempted to betray Megara to Philip, at some period between the years 344 and 342. The attempt was frustrated by Phocion (Plutarch, *Vita Phoc.*, c. 16). — 14. ἀπεριμμένοι. *Outcasts.* ἀπωστὸς γῆς ἀποριφθῆσομαι, Soph., *Aj.*, 1019. — 49. 18. περιποιεῖ. *Secures you an affluence of material for bribery:* i. e. preserves an independent constitution, by offering to betray which you may earn your pay from Macedon. — ἐφ' ὅτῃ δωροδοκῆσεται = *for which you shall receive bribes.* — τούτων. *My audience,* i. e. the commons of the city, to whom he is actually addressing his present speech in the ἐκκλησία: hence the pronoun. The conservative party would naturally include the two elements he mentions, τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους, the leading politicians who advocated resistance to Philip, τοὺς πολλούς, who supported that course by their votes and numerical influence. — 21. ἀπολάλατε. On the force of the pluperfect with *ἀν sup.* note *ἀν διημαρτήκα*, 30.

50—52. BUT I PAUSE AND CRAVE PARDON FOR MY TEDIUM. MY OPPONENT'S LANGUAGE, AND THE YOUTH OF SOME OF MY HEARERS, MADE MY PROLIXITY INDISPENSABLE. HE SAYS I TAUNTED HIM WITH "BEING ALEXANDER'S FRIEND." I SUPPOSE HE MEANS "BEING ALEXANDER'S HIRELING."

50. 24. ἐωλοκρασίαν. *The stale mess*, as Whiston aptly translates it. See his note on the passage. ἡ κατάχυσις τῶν ζυμῶν τῶν ἐώλων δείπνων ἐπὶ τοὺς κοιμωμένους τῶν συμπιόντων, Bekk., *Anecd.*, p. 258. πολλὴν τὴν ἐωλοκρασίαν κατασκεδάσας τῶν φιλοσόφων, Lucian., *Symp.*, c. 3. In Plutarch we find ἐωλοκρασία τις ὕβρεως. The application is obvious here. Æschines has raked up his own stale and offensive pieces of treachery and tries to transfer them to my head. — 26. νεώτερος. Too young to recollect the end and sequel of the Sacred War. The minimum age for a Dikast was thirty. Those of his audience who did not now exceed that age would have been no more than fourteen at the time referred to. — 27. παρηνέχλησθε. *Somewhat annoyed*, i. e. by the tedium of my repetitions (4, ἐνοχλεῖ), when you knew the facts without my telling you. The force of ἐνοχλεῖν is modified by the παρα-. — P. 19, l. 1. καὶ ὑμεῖς. *Even you*, the younger, for whose exclusive benefit I was speaking, but to whom perhaps my opponent's venality is just as notorious as it is to your seniors. Whiston says, *you too* (as well as myself)? — 51. 2. καίτοι. *And yet*, notorious as

it is, he tries to disguise it under specious names, and therefore I am bound to reiterate my warnings. — 3. *ξενίαν*. *Plighted friendship*, *ξένων*, 46, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, *Æschin.*, p. 63. — *πὺν λέγων* = *somewhere in his speech*. — 8. *θεριστάς*. *Reapers*, as the type of hired laborers in general, *ὁδότες οὐκ ἐπὶ ζῶντα, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀγούσας τοὺς θεριστάς*. *Aristot.*, *Hist. Anim.*, VI., 30. The word is rare in the classical authors. — 52. 14. *μισθωτός*. The orator designedly mispronounced this word, says Ulpian, that the audience, vociferously correcting his bad accent, might seem to give the answer he wanted to his question. This is obviously nonsense. Either the passage was only written and never spoken, so that the interrogation is a mere rhetorical artifice (see Long, *Cicero.*, *Verr.*, II., 4, 3); or else, and far more probably, the orator would take care to be surrounded by a faithful knot of his own supporters who would duly shout “*μισθωτός*” when appealed to. “We may be sure he knew his audience well.” WHISTON.

53. I WILL NOW REPLY TO THE INDICTMENT ITSELF AND JUSTIFY THE BILL OF THE COUNCIL.

19. *προβουλευμένων*, sc. *γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ προβουλεύματι*. So *προβούλευσεν ἡ βουλὴ ἐξέναι*, p. 567, l. 3. — 21. *μοι*. Dativus ethicus; the common formula of courtesy: *please*.

54. ΓΡΑΦΗ. Clearly spurious. Chæronidas was Archon in 337 (vid. Clinton), the very year when Demosthenes was appointed Commissioner for the Walls. But the orator only received this appointment on Skirophorion the 3d (middle of May). *Æschin.*, p. 57, l. 35. According to the present document *Æschines* indicted him *two months before*, viz., on Elaphebolion the 6th (middle of March) in the same year. *ισταμένου*, see *Lexicon*, and *Calendar* in *Dict. of Antiq.* — *ἀπήνεγκε*. *Brought a charge*. A most improbable wording of the charge as Dindorf rightly argues. But see Schömann (p. 607). A *γραφὴ παρανόμων* in any case appertained to the jurisdiction of the Thesmothetes, not of the Archon Eponymus. — *Ἀναφλυστίου*. *Anaphlystus* was a deme of the tribe Antiochia. It was situated on the west coast of Attica, a little to the north of Sunium. It is mentioned by Herodotus, IV., 99. — *στεφάνη*. Crowns, as a mark of honor, were originally limited to athletic contests. It was only in the period of Grecian decadence that grants of this description came into frequent usage. We see from this speech, and that of *Æschines*, that they were presented for even the most trivial public service,

such as expedition in equipping a trireme, or effective management of any small department. — P. 20. **Διονυσιοί.** At the Dionysiac festivals, a time when Athens would be crowded with company. — **καινοί.** In theory, the tragedies performed at the great Dionysia were supposed to be new for the occasion. Practically, however, it seems to have been sufficient that the dresses, decorations, etc., should be new. The plays of Sophocles were often represented more than once. *De F. L.*, p. 418; *Aul. Gell., Noct. Att.*, VII., 5. We have the phrase *τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν* (*Æschin.*, p. 58) and below 55, *τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ*. — **ἀρετῆς.** Merit in general, of which *εἰσβολαί* and *ἀνδραγαθίας* are mentioned as the particular details. — 55. **ψευδῆ.** This states correctly the first count of the indictment, viz., that Ctesiphon had proposed to include in the public archives a document false in substance. — **ἐντεθῆναι.** Waiting for an audit. This is the second count in the charge; viz., that Demosthenes, on that occasion, was ineligible for receiving a crown, as being a member of two Commissions, neither of which had as yet been audited. All public officers, except the *Dikasts*, were bound to render an account of their office within 30 days of its termination, the *λογισταί*, and their assessors the *ἐθνοί*, being the court which held them responsible. *στεφανοῦν* depends on *έώντων*. — **τευχιστοί.** See *Æschin.*, pp. 35–57. This office was the most important branch of the whole department *ἐπιστάται δημοσίων ἔργων*. It was probably annual in tenure. — **θεωρικῶν.** A special fund reserved for the expenses of public solemnities and entertainments, the money was derived in part as a *λειτουργία* from private citizens, but mainly from the public treasury. Athens was notorious for its sumptuous expenditure on such events as the festivals, sacrifices, embassies to great gymnastic contests, theatricals, etc., etc. From the *Theorica*, *διανομαί* (largesses) were also occasionally made to the people. The surplus of the fund was originally ordered to be given to other state expenses. But according to the law of Eubulus (*Demosth.*, pp. 1346–1348) this became illegal. That law was not repealed until 339 B. C. — **μη ἀναγορεύειν.** The construction is here changed as if *κελευόντων* had preceded. WHISTON. — **καινῇ, sc. εἰσόδῳ, sup. καινοί.** — **ἐκκλησίᾳ.** The crown was to be conferred at an actual sitting of the public assembly to increase the formal solemnity of the compliment. — **τίμημα.** Damages. An indictment for *παράνομα* was one of the *ἀγῶνες τιμητοί*, *sup.* 14, *ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις*. — **κλητήρες.** When a summons was being served (*κλήσις*), witnesses of the citation

were required by the law to be present. The prosecutor usually took two (p. 1251, l. 5), and their names were naturally appended at the foot of the bill of indictment. — 'Ραμνόςσιος. Rhamnus was on the east coast of Attica, six or seven miles to the north of Marathon. Pliny mentions it (IV., 7) as still existing in his time. It was famous for its statue of Nemesis. *Rhamnusia Dea*, Catull., LXVI., 71; Ovid., *Met.*, III., 406, *Trist.*, V., 8, 9.

56-59. SUCH ARE THE POINTS OF THE INDICTMENT. I WILL TAKE THEM IN THE SAME ORDER AS HE DOES. HIS FIRST AND PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF ATTACK IS MY OWN POLITICAL CAREER. ALLOW ME, THEREFORE, TO DWELL UPON THE HISTORY OF THAT PARTICULAR PERIOD. HERRAFTER I SHALL FULLY JUSTIFY CTESIPHON RESPECTING THE OFFENCES SPECIALLY CHARGED.

56. P. 20, l. 2. αὐτῶν. *These very points* which he attacks in Ctesiphon's decree. The juxtaposition of δικαίως and ἀπολογησόμεαι has suggested a misconception of δικαίως in 6. There, however, δικαίως refers to the conduct of the court and not of the orator. — 5. τάξιν. Instead of following the order of the prosecutor in his *speech* as he (Æschines) demanded (contra Ctes., 206), the orator, with good reason, follows the order of the *charges* in the indictment. This is not, therefore, as alleged in the note of Holmes, inconsistent with the remonstrance in the first section, but rather in strict accordance with it. — 57. 7. πρῶτοντα. From this word to ἀγαθόν an actual citation of the Psephisma is implied. The τοῦ before γράψαι substantives ἐπαναίειν likewise. Both genitives depend on κρῖσις. — 10. κρῖσιν. *On the written statement that I* [act as a patriot], *and the praise bestowed for such conduct, your judgment, I think, must be formed from my political proceedings.* A similar use of ἐν has been already noticed, 19, ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον. — 13. εἴτε καὶ. This καὶ between εἴτε and the second alternative has a special force noticed by Dissen. It always implies that the speaker himself decidedly prefers the first alternative. So p. 193, εἴτ' ὁρθῶς ἐγὼ λογίζομαι εἴτε καὶ μὴ: Plato., *Theæt.*, 65, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐπισκέψαι εἴτε ταῦτόν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο ἐπιστήμη καὶ αἰσθήσις. So immediately below in 58. — 53. 14. στεφανοῦν, as Kennedy rightly says, depends on κλεῦσαι in the next sentence. We may render the passage: *his directing that they should crown me and proclaim the crown in the theatre, without having written the extra (προς-) clause, "as soon as ever he has passed his audit."* ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ γέγραφε τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν μὴ προσθεῖς 'ἐπειδὴν δ' ὁ λόγον καὶ εὐθύναις.' Æschin., p. 58. — P. 21,

l. 1. *κοινωνῶν*. *Has to do with*. The *μέν* which follows is answered by the *μέντοι* immediately after *ἐτι*. — 4. *ἐν τούτοις*, amongst the citizens. — *εἴτε καὶ μή*, or it may be not, implying that he was worthy of it. WHISTON. — 5. *δακτύλιον εἶναι*. *Madv. Gk. S.*, 84, b.; C. 682; Cu. 596; G. 281; H. 804. — 7. *ἀπλῶς*. The antithesis of *τεχνικῶς* on p. 222, second hypothesis. *Without artifice*. — 59. 9. *ἀπαρτῶν*. *Divorce my speech from the indictment*, i. e. wander into other topics. The verb is rarely used, and certainly its first meaning is to *suspend from*, but also from its etymology it would bear the translation [*bind and*] *drag away*. *οὐδὲ δίδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύνασθ' ἔν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμας*. *Phil.*, I., p. 43. "Being fettered and kept away both by the state of your armament, etc." Lord Brougham, as cited by Whiston, here happily remarks: "The extreme importance to Demosthenes's case of the skilful movement, so to speak, by which he availed himself of Æschines's error and at once entered on the subject of his whole administration, — thus escaping the immediate charge to which he had no answer, and overwhelming his adversary by a triumphant defence on ground of his own choosing, — requires that he should again and again defend this movement, which he here does very carefully." — 12. *γεγραμμένος*. Perfect middle of *γράφειν*. The prosecutor causes the defendant's name and offences to be inscribed on the charge sheet. Hence the voice, in this usage. *For he who prosecutes in the psephisma the statement that I speak and act for your best interests, and who has impeached this as not true, he it is that has made*, etc. *ψηφίσματος* is limiting genitive with *τὸ λέγειν...με*. — 15. *εἴτα καὶ*. In the next place when there were many lines of public life open to my choice. WHISTON. — 16. *Ἑλληνικάς*. So on p. 263, l. 3, he distinguished between *τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύματα* and *τὰ Ἑλληνικά*, Home policy and Foreign.

60-65. I BEGIN THE HISTORY FROM THE DATE OF MY OWN CAREER. GREECE WAS THEN TEEMING WITH TRAITORS WHO PLAYED INTO PHILIP'S HANDS. FOR THE POLICY PURSUED BY ATHENS I AM RESPONSIBLE. I NOW ASK THE QUESTION, WHICH PARTY WAS IT RIGHT FOR OUR STATE TO JOIN, THE CAUSE OF PHILIP OR THE CAUSE OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE? AND LOOKING AT THE FATAL BEQUEL, WHO CAN DOUBT THAT ATHENS CHOSE CORRECTLY?

60. 19. *πρὸ τοῦ*. *Sup.* 18, and note *τότε*, *ib.* — 20. *προέλαβε*. He alludes to the capture of Amphipolis in the year 358, of Pydna in

357, and Potidæa in 356. — 21. *ἀ διακαλύθη*. Philip had several *successes*, not enumerated here, in the period immediately following the orator's entry on public life, e. g. the conquests in Thrace, 27; but the only object in dwelling on this stage of history is to mention all of Philip's *checks and failures*, so far as they could be attributed to the orator's line of policy. — 22. *ἐπίστην*. *Took my place in this sphere*, literally = stepped into this post of duty and continued to stand there. On this pregnant force of *ἐπί*, see Madvig, *Gk. S.*, 79 a. — 23. *ἐπέβη*. *Render*, in submission to an inquiry. Stronger than *διδόται*, 8. — *ἔπειπὼν*. *Having first premised thus much*. *ὑπο*- here of the foundation and substratum for his subsequent argument. *τοσοῦτον* with a force of limitation. — 25. *ἐπήρξε*. *Possessed to begin with*, the same sense of *ὑπο*-. — 61. 26. *φορὴν*. *A harvest, or crop*, analogous to our use of *yield*. Diodorus copies the expression (XVI., 4), *φορὰ τις προδοῶν ἐπήρξε*. So also, *φορὰ βηθόρων ποτηρῶν*, *Æschin.*, p. 87. Cf. 271, and note there. — 27. *θεοὶς ἐχθρῶν*. *God-detested*. The phrase is used almost as if it were a single word (*sup.*, p. 241, l. 12, and p. 611, l. 15), otherwise the abrupt introduction of the dative would be rather inelegant. — P. 22, l. 3. *καὶ πρότερον* = *even before*. — 4. *ἐτι χεῖρον δέθηκε*, *he brought into a still worse state of mind* (disposition). — 6. *διόστησεν*. *Split them up into many factions, the interest of all being one and the same*. *δυστάται*, *sup.*, 18, *δισωθήκει*. The participial clause is best preserved in its original form for translation, being antithetic but not strongly concessive. — 7. *καλῶν*. In the position of a genitive case, in apposition to *τοῦ συμφέροντος*, and explanatory of it. — 62. 9. *συνιστάμενον*. *Gathering*. The passive voice. *συστάμενος*, 18. *ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον*, 19. — 11. *προσήκον*. *Proper*. This auxiliary use of *ἦν* constitutes the strongest form of the imperfect tense, Madvig, 180 d. — *πράτταν καὶ ποιεῖν*, *to achieve and effect*. So *πράξει καὶ ποιήσει*, p. 327, l. 28. The distinction of the meanings is scarcely perceptible, but *ποιεῖν* has a sense of *creation*, which *πράττειν* does not share, *πράττειν* a sense of *achievement*, which is not common to *ποιεῖν*. Whiston renders, *what course of conduct and action*. — 13. *πολιτείας*. Partitive, depending on *ἐνταῦθα*. The present tense and the emphasis on *ἐγώ* must be carefully preserved in translating. *The man who set himself in that department of the administration am I*. — 63. 15. *ἀφείσαν*. *To have sunk her spirit and dignity, and in the position of Thessalians and Dolopians, to have aided Philip in acquiring the supremacy of the Greeks*. *τάξει* *sup.*, 13, note s. v. The strong feeling

against the Thessalians we have seen already in 43. Dissen remarks that both they and the Dolopians had fought with the Persians against the Greeks. Herod., VII., 132, 185. The Dolopians, a remnant of the Pelasgic stock, were in scattered localities between Epirus and the foot of Pindus. — 20. *καλῶσα*. The strict construction would require the optative, but the future indicative is more vivid, and grammar is sacrificed accordingly. — 21. *περιδεῖν*. *To allow without interference, to overlook*. This verb admits various constructions, being followed either by a participle, or by an infinitive, or by an adjective with ellipsis of the participle, or by an accusative of the person with ellipsis of the infinitive. — 64. 21. *ἀλλά*. *Nay but*. There is no transition implied. He only repeats in stronger terms the contents of the previous sentence. — 22. *ἔγωγε*. *I for my part should like to ask the severest critic of what has been done, which sort of party he would best have liked to have our city belong to.* — 24. *συναυτίαι*. *Conjointly to blame for, not accomplice*, which would be *μεταίτιος*. Cf. *Æsch., Eumen.*, 199. — 25. *ἥς δν*. This *δν*, and the one which follows immediately, give no sense of distribution to the relative, but qualify the optatives only. *Sup.*, 16. *ἥς* is genitive of property, with *γενέσθαι* understood. — 27. *περιορακυίας*. The perfect of *ὀράω* and its compounds has no double augment in pure Attic, although the imperfect has. Many editions here erroneously substitute *ω* for the *ο*. Cf. *Lexicon*. — P. 23, l. 1. *πλεονεξία*. This taunt is unjust. Arcadia and Messenia sought for protection against the tyrannical power of Lacedæmon, and Philip alone could give them the assistance they required. Their conduct was in no way venal, as the word *πλεονεξία* would imply. — 65. 3. *ἀπηλλάχασιν*. *Have come off*. In this intransitive force *ἀπαλλάσσειν* always requires to be supported by an adverb. — 7. *ἦν δν* is preceded by *δμως*, in most editions, and *οὐκ* is inserted before *ἐναντιωθέντων*. The latter alteration is very suggestive of a copyist's taste and discretion. And the manuscript evidence is wholly against the *οὐκ*. The sense of the text as above is excellent. He says, if Philip had done no harm, but only good, there would have rested [in spite of much which had justified the opposition — still] a certain amount of blame upon those who had opposed his policy. The insertion of *δμως* will not affect the general sense, but that of *οὐκ* would destroy it. Reiske earnestly defends the *οὐκ*, but no other editor has done so. — 9. *ἀξίωμα*. *Dignity or authority* as distinct from actual power. *Philip.*, 3, p. 28; *Æschin., F. L.*, 42. — *ἡγεμονίαν*.

Leading position in reference to smaller states, who looked up to them as their actual superiors and chiefs. The Thessalians had several such dependents forming a Hegemony. Müller, *Dor.*, II., p. 65. — *λευθερίαν*. *Pugna ad Chaeroneam interit, ut constat, Græciæ libertas.* (DISSEN.) — 10. *πολιτείας*. *Constitutions*, i. e. democratic constitutions, *τύραννοι* being appointed by Philip to supersede the existing *πολιτείας*, in the various cities where the step was possible. *δῶν* is genitive after *περιελθῆναι* understood.

66-78. TO RESUME: WHAT WAS THE CITY TO DO WHEN IT SAW THE ENCROACHMENTS OF PHILIP! WHAT WAS I, YOUR POLITICAL ADVISER, TO DO, WHEN I FELT SO DEEPLY FOR THE HONOR OF ATHENS, AND SAW SO CLEARLY THE CHARACTER OF HER AGGRESSOR! I PASS OVER HIS REMOTER ENCROACHMENTS; BUT WHEN HE CAME SO NEAR TO OURSELVES AND BROKE ALL FAITH AND TREATIES, WERE WE THEN TO DO NOTHING! IT WAS HE, NOT WE, WHO BROKE THE PEACE. I PRODUCE OUR DECREES AND HIS LETTER TO PROVE IT. AND AS TO MY SHARE IN THE PROCEEDINGS, I WAS NOT THE PROPOSER OF EITHER OF THESE DECREES; NOR CAN YOU, ÆSCHINES, BRING FORWARD A SINGLE DECREE SUBVERSIVE OF THE PEACE WHICH HAS MY NAME TO INDORSE IT.

66. 14. *ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα*. *A dominion and sovereignty*. The words, as used here, are nearly synonymous both with each other and also with *δυναστεία*, *empire*, in 67. Strictly *ἀρχή* is of any official ruler (or body of rulers) as the *head* of affairs; the term applies to any form of government, including even a republic: *τυραννίς* applies to the rule of a single despot only; but *δυναστεία* might also describe a combination of oligarchs. Cf. *τῇ δυναστείᾳ ἢ τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἑαυτοῖς κατασκευάζουσιν.*, p. 1467, l. 16. — 16. *σύμβουλον*. *Your adviser*: the technical description of an orator when acting as a politician. *τὸν περὶ τῶν πρῶτων σύμβουλον*, inf., p. 297 (fin.). So Aristotle (*Rhet.*, I., 1) divides oratory into the three heads, *συμβουλευτικὸν* (deliberative), *δικανικὸν* (forensic), and *ἐπιδεικτικὸν* (declamatory). — 17. *ἑμὲ*. *Myself I mean*: emphatic and in apposition to *σύμβουλον*. The difference which he attributes to his own political measures as compared with those of his contemporaries, he rests on these two personal grounds: (1) that he had realized better than others the nature of Athenian ambition; (2) that he had also realized better the career and the aims of Philip. — 18. *συνῆδαν μὲν* is antithetic and preliminary to *ἑώραν δέ*, *while on the one hand I knew...*

on the other I saw. Both verbs are followed by the accusative with the participle. — 19. ἀνέβην. *Ascended the Bema*: ascended it, he means, for the first time; here the phrase, of course, is merely the technical description of taking a part in public business. We have the more vigorous expression ἀναπηδᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα in p. 78, l. 29. — 20. πρωτεῖον. *Primacy*. So in the singular; τὴν τοῦ πρωτείου προαίρεσιν τῇ πόλει διαφυλάττειν, p. 331, l. 24. τὸ πρωτεῖον εἶχε, p. 151, l. 8. — 21. χρήματα κ. τ. λ. *Money and men*, so *sup.*, p. 231 (*fin.*). Leland's rendering, *blood and treasure*, is decidedly beyond the mark. — 67. 25. ὀφθαλμόν. The date of this is probably 354 B. C. "His ita gestis Philippus iam non contentus submovere bella, ultro etiam quietos lacessit. Quum Methonam urbem oppugnaret, in prætereuntem de muris sagitta iacta dextrum oculum regis effodit." Justin, VII., 6. 13. Methone on the Thermaic gulf is there alluded to, not the Thracian Methone. But see Grote, who dates the event at a somewhat later period than Justin. Cf. also Diodor., XVI., 31 and 34; Polyæn., IV., 15. — 26. ἐκκεκομμένον. Constructed frequently thus, with an accusative of respect. Cf. εἴθ' ἐξεκόπην πρότερον τὸν ὀφθαλμόν λιθῷ, Aristoph., *Nub.*, 24. ἐκκοπεῖς ὁ δειλαῖος ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, *Æsch.*, p. 24, l. 31. The verb in the active voice is connected with ὀφθαλμόν, in a well-known passage, p. 744, l. 20, ἐάν τις ἓνα ἔχοντος ὀφθαλμόν ἐκκόψῃ ἀμφὺ ἀντεκκόψαι παρέχειν. — κλεῖν. The Scholiast says this happened in the expedition of Philip against the Illyrians, 344 B. C. Plutarch alludes to the wound (*Mor.* 177 r). The form κλεῖν for the more normal κλεῖδα is a subject of copious comments in the Lexica. Cf. *Etyim. M.*, p. 318, l. 25; Schol. Hom. *Il.*, E., 146. [Dissen and Schäfer.] — τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος. This, according to the Scholiast, was on his return from the Scythians and Triballi, in 340 B. C. So also Justin, IX., 3 (but speaking only of a wound in the thigh): "In femore vulneratus est Philippus." Plutarch alludes to Philip's lameness. *Quæst. Sympos.*, IX., 4. 1. — 27. μέπος. *Sacrificing any and every part that Fortune might like to filch from his body, so that he might live with the relics thereof surrounded by honor and glory*. As to the antecedent μέπος being drawn into the relative clause, the construction is very common: πᾶν δ, τι πάσχων τις πάθος ἀνοίαν ἰσχυεῖ νόσον προσρηγέον. Plat., *Tim.*, 86. See Madvig, *G. S.*, 101 a. b, etc.; C. 553; G. 154; H. 809. The emphasis of πᾶν is thus increased, as Whiston rightly notices, citing Dissen. The verb παραιρεῖσθαι is rather of robbery than mere deprivation. Cf.

πῶλει παρήρηται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσαι, p. 289, l. 5. P. 24, l. 2. τῷ λοιπῷ = all that was left; as in 69, λοιπὸν = the only thing remaining. — 68. 4. ἄδῶξ. Pella was insignificant in the eyes of Greece until it was invested with Philip's renown. Cf. in the *De Halonneso*, p. 78, τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης ὀρμώμενον. — 5. τοσαύτην...ἐγγεῖσθαι, *that it became the man who was brought up in Pella to have reached such an elevation of mind*, literally, that such an elevation of mind should have been generated in him. — 9. θεωρήμασι includes everything under the observation of the eye or mind, — not to be limited to the theatrical dramas (as Kennedy), nor to *spectacles* (as Drake). Whiston's paraphrase is far better: *everything that meets your ears and eyes*; but even that is inadequate. We may render perhaps in every expression and every contemplation. — 11. αὐτεπαγγέλτους. Somewhat redundant in connection with ἐθελοντάς. We can combine the two by paraphrase; *of your own free-will and accord*. Better with Whiston, *by your own offer, and of your own free-will*. αὐτῇ (δύναμις) πάρεστιν αὐτεπαγγέλτος ἀνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης διδοῦσα ἐαυτῇ. Thucyd., I., 33. For ἐθελοντάς cf. Lys., p. 181, l. 36, and p. 182, l. 9. — παραχωρήσαι. *Concedere*. Cf. οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εἰνολίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχόμεναι ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, p. 317, l. 9. παραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος. Æsch., p. 77. — 69. 16. ἔγραφον, *was the mover of your resolutions, and the adviser of your counsels*. WHISTON. — καὶ ἐγώ. *I myself*. Another example of the intensive καί. *Sup.*, 3 πολλὰ μὲν. — 18. πάντα. *Dismissing all the rest*, dismissing all of Philip's remoter conquests from our present consideration. Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potideæ ("always enumerated in this order." ΓΕΩΤΕ) were captured by Philip in three successive years, commencing with 358; the island of Halonnesus probably in the year 345. The inhabitants of the adjoining island, Peparethus, attacked Halonnesus in 342 B. C., and ejected the Macedonian garrison. Philip then attacked and devastated Peparethus. See Winiewski, *Comment.*, p. 128, etc.; and Vömel's dissertation on the *De Halonneso*. — 70. 20. Σάρραον. Cf. *sup.*, 27. — Δόρισκον. Also in Thrace, captured by Philip with other Thracian towns in 345. — 22. οὐδ'...οὔτε. *I do not so much as know whether they occurred or not*. In the same sense as πάντα τὰλλα ἀφελίς. On εἰ as the usual particle to introduce a simple dependent question, see Madvig, *G. S.*, 199, b. 2. — 23. ἔχθραν, i. e. enmity with Philip. — 24. Εὐβοῖλον of Anaphlystus. *Sup.*, 21 (*fin.*). Ruhnken, *Or. Gr.*, p. 65 sq.; Röckh (*Econ. Ath.*), p. 242. According to others his deme was Pro-

balisia, but this correction is not adequately supported. He was the constant advocate of peace-policy, and so far acted in concert with Phocion. A stronger connection afterwards subsisted between Eubulus and Æschines as leaders of the Macedonian party. — **Ἀριστοφώντος** of Azenia probably, Æsch., p. 81, l. 39. Demosthenes calls him *δεὺρὸς λέγειν*, *adv. Leptin.*, p. 501. There were two other persons of the same name who belonged to this period: Aristophon of Colyttus, *c. Mid.*, p. 584, and Aristophon the Archon Eponymus of the year 330, when this oration was delivered. See Clinton (*Fast. Hell.*, II., p. 147), and Böhmcke (*Quest.*, I., 659). Eubulus and Aristophon were both dead at this time. **WHISTON.** — **Διοσίθεος.** The commander of the Athenian forces in Thrace, 343 B. C. While Philip was engaged against the Thracians in the north, Diopieithes attacked the sea-coast of Thrace, and captured two of the cities. Philip, unable to crush him by force of arms, tried, but without success, to induce the Athenians to recall him. See the speech *De Chersoneso.* — 25. *ἐμῶν*, i. e. the decrees were *their* proposal, not *mine*. — *δυντῶν* = *although they were*. — 71. 26. *οὐδέ* = *not even*. — 27. **Εὐβοίαν.** Philip's intrigues in Eubœa commenced probably about 349 B. C., when he promoted the hostilities between the Eubœans and the Athenians, but the peace of 346 then suspended his operations. He resumed them in 343 towards the close of the year as we gather from *c. Philipp.*, 2, compared with the *de F. L.* Cf. *De Chers.*, p. 98, l. 23 sq. — P. 25, l. 1. **σφετερίζομενος.** *Annexing*; more exactly, *appropriating*. — **ἐπιτελιχισμα.** *A base of hostile operations*, p. 133, l. 22. *τυραννίδα ἀπαρτίκρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπετελιχισεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ.* We have the form *ἐπιτελιχισμός*, 87. *Thuc.*, I., 142, etc. — 2. **Μεγάροις.** Philip attacked the city (probably in 343 B. C.) at the invitation of Pterilaus, Ptoeodorus, and Helixus, pp. 368, 435. Phocion, however, rescued Megara then, and it did not fall into Philip's hands until after Chæronea. Hence the word, *ἐπιχειρῶν*. — 3. **᾽Ορεόν.** Oreus, Eretria, and Porthmus were the three cities of Eubœa which afforded the most convenient bases of hostility against the Athenians. Philistides was the leader of the Macedonian party at Oreus, Cleitarchus at Eretria. The date of Philip's success was probably 342 B. C. Cf. pp. 98, 99, 104, and again 112, 115, 125. — 5. **Ἑλλησποντον.** Philip's fleet had possession of the Hellespont in the year 342-1. He commenced the siege of Perinthus in 340, but, after three months' unsuccessful blockade, he withdrew a part of his forces to make an

attack on Byzantium. The combined fleet under Phocion succeeded in protecting the city. Plutarch., *Demosth.*, 17, *Phocion*, 14. — 7. *ἀς μὲν... ἀς δέ*. For *τὰς μὲν*, and *τὰς δέ*, the regular inflections of the old demonstrative *τός*, as we find *ὅς* in Homer, and *καὶ ὅς* in prose. WHISTON. — 8. *κατάγων*. *Bringing home*. ἐλθεῖν μὲν εἰς γῆν ἐσθ' ὅτω μετ' ἡ πάτρας· | φεύγων δ' ἀνὴρ ἤκει τε καὶ κατέρχεται. Aristoph., *Ran.*, 1163, 5. — *ἡδύκα*. The imperfects here describe the acts of Philip as a continuous and protracted course of outrage. — 11. *ἡ μή*, *sc. φανῆναι*. The orator might have written *ἡ οὐ* (*sc. ἐχρῆν*); but the construction he has chosen is the more vigorous of the two. The difference may be stated thus in paraphrase: *ἡ μή*=ought he to have abstained from coming forward? and *ἡ οὐ*=was it not his duty to come forward? cf. C. 686, c. g.; Cu. 615, 617; G. 283, 3, Note; H. 836, 837. — 72. 12. *Μυσῶν λείαν*. The notorious proverb describing a helpless victim. The state of Mysia, as exposed to pirates and brigands in the absence of its monarch Telephus, is said by the Scholiast to have given rise to the phrase. Harpocr., s. v. *Μυσῶν*. The proverb is quoted by Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I., 12. Telephus belongs to the mythical period of the Trojan war. Paus., X., 28, etc. Euripides made him the hero of a tragedy as we see from the amusing passage, Arist., *Ach.*, 430, etc. — *καλουμένην*=so called, or, as the phrase is. *οἶσαν* is complementary to *ὀφθῆναι* and denotes state emphatically =to be seen in the state of the Mysian booty, as the phrase is. — 13. *ζώντων καὶ θνῶν*. The same combination, p. 935, l. 16 (quoted by Reiske): *Τιμοδῆμυ καὶ νῦν ἐτι ζῶντι καὶ θνῆτι*. A very weak conjecture has been made of *ὀρώτων* in lieu of *θνῶν*. — *περιεργασμαι*. P. 154, l. 20, *σοὶ δὲ κίνδυνος εἰ μὴδὲν τῶν ἄλλων πλέον περιεργάσει, ἀλλὰ τοῦτασι σοὶ μὲν ἐξ ὧν ἐργάζει καὶ περιεργάζει...* The sense of *περιεργάζεσθαι* is to exceed the proper limits of operation, hence to over-do it, to over-meddle. Kennedy uses the latter word in translating the passage cited. Whiston renders, *superfluous has been my labor in speaking on these subjects*. A good example of *περιεργάζεσθαι* will be found in Herodotus's well-known story about the Samian exiles, III., 46; also in the charge against Socrates, Plat. *Apol.*, 19, c. — 20. *προλέγων*. So again *inf.*, p. 306, l. 1, and Antipho., p. 126, l. 17, *προλεγόντων* (cautioning) αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων λατρῶν. — 21. *προτεσθαι*. *Sup.*, 67. — 73. 22. *καὶ μήν*. And, as to the peace, I protest (*μήν*) it was he who broke it (when he seized those ships), it was not the city. See 139. "At the same time" (340 B. C.) "it appears that he now let loose his cruisers against the

Athenian merchantmen, many of whom he captured and appropriated. These captures, together with the incursions on the Chersonese, served as last additional provocations, working up the minds of the Athenians to a positive declaration of war." GROTE.—25. τίς. *Who is to blame for what.* Here and elsewhere τίς, as an interrogative, approximates somewhat to the relative *ὅστις*. Strictly, however, there is always a difference, which we have to ignore in translating, as it can only be conveyed by paraphrase; e. g. here *φανερὸν* = *We shall see the answer to the question, Who, etc.?* Again, p. 962, l. 20, οὐ γὰρ ὁρῶ καιρὸν ἐν τίνι μᾶλλον ἢ τις βοηθήσειεν αὐτῷ. "The opportunity which answers the question 'In what crisis, etc.?' " Pind., *Nem.*, VII., 56, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν | τίνι τοῦτο Μοῖρα τέλος ἐμπεδον | ἄρεξε. "I cannot solve the question 'To whom, etc.?' " Many other instances might be cited.—P. 26. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Another spurious document, defended however by Vömel, and in part by Böhmcke. There is no historical mention elsewhere of the capture of these ships by Amyntas and their subsequent restitution. Other indications of spuriousness will be noticed in their place.—Νεοκλούς. No Archon Eponymus at this period is recorded as bearing the name. Theophrastus was the Eponymus of 340 B. C.—μηνός. The mention of the day of the month is omitted.—συγκλήτρου. This required to be summoned by the Prytanes as well as by the Strategi.—Κόπριος. Of the deme Coprus, which was in the tribe Hippothoontis. But it is clearly the famous Eubulus of whom he is speaking, and we know his deme to have been Anaphlystus. *Sup.*, 70. The only various readings are Κόπριος and Κυθήριος.—ναύαρχον. Whiston appears to think that a genuine document would have had στρατηγόν here. The word ναύαρχος, however, is used by Thucyd., VIII., 16, 20, and by Xen., *Hellen.*, V., 1. 5.—καταγόχεν. Cf. 39, εἰσαγοχότας. κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα (of piracy). *Lys.*, p. 150, l. 11.—74. μεμψιμορεῖ, as Whiston rightly says, is a word belonging only to the Greek of a later period. *Luci.*, *Jup. Trag.*, c. 40; *Polyb.*, IV., 60. 9. In any case it would be most unlikely to be used in a formal and solemn document. Before *ὅτι οὐ μ.* we have to supply *φήσουσιν* from *διαλέγονται*. The construction is awkward and unusual.—πλημμελοῦντα. Another awkward ellipsis. We supply with Wolf, [τὸν ναύαρχον Λεωδάμαντα] λαβών.—ὀλιγωρίας. Here *neglect of duty*. The classical use is simply *neglect* and *contempt* in general.—ἄξιαν. So *ζημίαν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐληφε*, p. 155, l. 13.—*Idem*. *Wilfully*, Kennedy interprets. Others

soldy. A more exact translation would be *on their own account*, i. e. without provocation or justification. — ἀγνωμονοῦσιν, *are committing trespass* (Kennedy). This is quite classical. Xen., *Hell.*, I., 7. 33. — ἀποστελλας. *Either the man who gave or the man who has received the commission*, i. e. either Philip or Amyntas. — λέγειν depends on εἶπεν at the beginning of the psephisma = *that they* (the ambassadors) *state this also*. A few codices prefix γράψαι, others substitute it for λέγειν. — 75. 2. Ἡγήσιππος, p. 129, l. 18, Aeschin., c. Ctes., 118. A strong partisan of the Anti-Macedonian side at Athens. Envoy to Philip 344 B. C. See pp. 81, 84, 85, *F. L.*, 364. Supposed author of the *De Halonneso*. — Ἀριστοφῶν, 70. — 3. Φιλοκράτης, 17. — Κηφισοφῶν. Sup., 21, in connection with Eubulus. One of the envoys to Philip on the peace question, and the friend of Aeschines. — 4. πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι. He ceases to enumerate the individual names and comprehends the rest of the proposers in one formula; clearly he refers to a large number of psephisms which he is turning over as he speaks. — ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Also spurious. As being merely βουλῆς γνώμη (*by vote of the Boule*) it should have been entitled προβούλευμα. But this misnomer is only consistent with its other deficiencies. — Νεωλλεύς. Sup., 73. — ἀναγγερόντες, *having reported*. A rare Attic use of the word at this period. Thucyd. (V., 28) has ἀγγεγκαν τοὺς λόγους ἐς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον. The word χρηματίζειν is technically accurate for *transacting business* (in the ecclesia). Πρὶν ἐκεῖνην (βουλὴν) χρηματῖσαι καὶ προβουλεύσαι. 169 (*fin.*). Here it means, *introduced for the consideration of the boule*. — ἀνακομιδῆς = *restoration*. — ἀφῆσις, *release*, is used to express the same thing in the preceding psephisma and the following letter of Philip. — P. 27. Ἀριστοφῶν Κολλυτεύς see 70. The name is also spelt Κολυττεύς. The deme referred to was in the tribe Aegaeis; whereas the tribe Hippothoontis is cited as πρυτανεύουσα. But still a member of the tribe Aegaeis might have been a πρόεδρος at this time. He might, that is, have been one of the nine πρόεδροι from the nine φυλαὶ who were out of πρυτανεία. So Böhnecke argues. It is singular that even Kennedy should accept this and the preceding document as genuine. For πρυτανεία and πρόεδρος see Lexicon and Dict. of Antiqu. — 76. 4. ἂν ᾖχας. This, as referring distinctly to the future, contrasts well with the conditional sentence of past time which immediately follows: εἰ γάρ...παρέσχου, *if you had been able all the while* (imperfect)...*you would now have brought it forward* (aorist). Sup., 9. — 77. ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. This document is clearly spurious, though ac-

cepted by Kennedy, and defended, as usual, by Vömel and Böhnecke. The siege of Selymbria by Philip, which is here alluded to, is nowhere else so much as mentioned in any historical record. Yet the sieges of Byzantium and Perinthus, which belong to the same period, are constantly referred to by Demosthenes, Philochorus, Diodorus, and Justin. See Grote. — **χαίρειν** depends on **γράφει** or some similar word, which is omitted here as in classical and sacred epistles generally. — **πρεσβευταί**. The form **πρέσβεις** is, no doubt, more usual to express *envoys* in the plural, as Newman observes. Whiston, however, cites Deinarchus c. *Demosth.*, 22 : **τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ὡς τοῦτον ἐλθόντων**. A more interesting passage is in [Andocidis] c. *Alcibiad.*, p. 28 (*fin.*) : **πρεσβευτὰς οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς ἡμεῖς οἱ πρέσβεις ποιοῦμεν· ὁ γὰρ τὴν χεῖρα μέλλων αἰρεῖν οὗτος ὁ πρεσβεῖων ἐστίν, ὁπότ' ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖν**. We may infer from this that **πρέσβεις** was the technical name for envoys, but **πρεσβευταί** the more forcible expression implying plenipotentiaries. — **Λαοδάμιας**. A correction suggested by Reiske and adopted by Dindorf, as consistent with 73. The *codices* have **Λαομέδων**. — **καθ' ἑλόν**, *absolutely*. On *εὐθείᾳ* cf. 11. — **Δῆμον**. Lemnos still belonged to Athens, according to the peace of Antalcidas, as did also Imbros and Scyros. *Æschin.*, p. 37; *Xen., Hist. Gr.*, V., 1. 31. — **βοηθήσουντα δέ**. Supply **ὡς ἀληθῶς**, in contrast to **πρόφασιν μὲν** which precedes. — 73. **συντάχθῃ**. The verb *συντάσσειν* is usually of military operations to *arrange, drill, or discipline*, — its extension here to mean *these orders were given*, is post-classical, although Hesychius, cited by Schäfer, gives **Συντάξει = παραγγελεῖ**. — **ἰδιωτῶν μὲν**. The letter, if genuine, might have been expected to exclude Demosthenes (76) in some specific manner; but this description *out of office* would apply at that time to him as much as to any one. — **φιλοτιμουμένων**. *Ambitious*, somewhat ironically put. Cf. **φιλοτιμίας**, 66. — **συντελεῖσθαι**. *Perfectum significanter positum de re quam isti quam primum ratam videre velint* (Dissen). Rather of the *full and complete* accomplishment of that purpose which they desire. And so in the very instance Dissen quotes, p. 91 : **περὶ τούτων δ' οἶμαι τὴν ταχίστην συμφέρειν καὶ βεβουλευσθαι καὶ παρσκευάσθαι. — πρόσδοτον, a source of revenue. τὰς συμμάχων συμφορὰς προσδότους τοῖς πρέσβεσι**. *F. L.*, 159.

79–84. PHILIP HIMSELF HAS MADE NO MENTION OF MY NAME. INDEED, HAD HE DONE SO, HE WOULD ONLY HAVE REVEALED HIS OWN DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT AND MY PATRIOTIC RESISTANCE.

I THWARTED HIM BY PROPOSING THE EMBASSIES TO EUBŒA AND TO THE PELOPONNESUS, BY PROPOSING THE MILITARY MOVEMENTS WHICH SAVED THE CHERSONESUS AS WELL AS EUBŒA. THIS BROUGHT YOU THE GREATEST GLORY AND STRENGTHENED YOUR POSITION WITH YOUR ALLIES. BUT A FORTUNE IN MONEY MIGHT HAVE BEEN MADE BY A MAN WHO WOULD HAVE PLAYED INTO PHILIP'S HAND ABOUT EUBŒA, AS ÆSCHINES SAYS THAT I DID: ÆSCHINES, WHO ENTERTAINED IN HIS HOUSE THE ENVOYS OF THESE EUBŒAN TYRANTS! I WHO RECEIVED A CROWN OF HONOR, UNQUESTIONED BY ÆSCHINES, FOR OVERTHROWING THEIR POLICY!

79. P. 28, l. 1. *οὐδαμῶς*. The spurious document mentions, it is true, no special names whatever except those of the ambassadors; yet nothing can be more pointed than *ἰδιωτῶν* as referring to Demosthenes. Had this been the genuine document the orator would never have brought it forward. Again it nowhere specifies *τοῖς ἄλλοις* whom Philip is described as *ἐγκαλῶν* here. — 5. *εἰλόμην*. *I clave*: that is, with the tenacity of a determined foe = *laid hold of; grappled with*, as rendered by Whiston. The emphatic position of the words and the force of the imperfect tense should be noted, *for with these I was continually grappling and these I was constantly opposing*. — 7. *πρεσβείαν*. Dated about 344. c. *Philipp*. 3, p. 109. Demosthenes himself was one of the legates as well as the proposer of the psephism. — *ὅτε πρῶτον*. On the state of Greece at this time, cf. *Philipp*. 3, p. 115. — 8. *παρεδύετο*, *was trying to steal into*. He did not actually invade the Peloponnese till after Chæronea. *ἡ γοῦν παρανομία αὐτῇ ῥαδίως λανθάνει παραδυσμένη*. Plato, *Rep.*, 424 D. — *τὴν ἐς Εὐβοίαν*. B. C. 342. — 10. *οὐκέτι*. The psephism on this occasion was to authorize the despatch of a military force to Eubœa, a step beyond the mere commissioning of envoys. The date was 341–340. Phocion commanded, and his efforts were successful. Diod., XVI. 74. — *Ἐρετρίαν*. This is the same expedition which first liberated Oreus and then Eretria. Cf. Æschin. c. *Ctes.*, pp. 67, 68, for the other side of the question. — 11. *τυράννους*. 71. — 80. 12. *ἀποστόλους*, *naval expeditions*. Dissen considers that the revision of the trierarchic laws (105 sq.) is partly alluded to here, as well as the actual despatch of the fleet. — *ἀπέστειλα*. Of course, as Schäfer remarks, *ἐγραψα ἀποστεῖλαι* is what the orator means, p. 262, l. 15: *τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν*. — 13. *Χερρόνησος*. 73, note *καὶ μὴν*. — 14. *πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι*. He alludes to Proconnesus and Tenedos and the like, p. 326.

— 17. *ὑμῖν* depends on *πεισθεῖσιν*: *those who took your advice*, as opposed to *those who neglected it*. *τῶν ἀδικουμένων* is genitive of the whole after the partitives *τοῖς μὲν...τοῖς δέ*. *περιεγένετο* is to be repeated with *τὸ...μεμῆσθαι καὶ νομίζειν*. — 81. 24. *ὑπάρχειν*, *to have these substantial materials for your injury*, *ὑπάρξει* 1 note. — 25. *ἐξελέγχεσθαι*. The verb *ἐξελέγχειν* means to investigate and *expose*; *ἐξετάζειν* (*inf.*) to *question* merely. — P. 29, l. 1. *πανταχοῦ*, *anywhere*: cf. the use of *πάντων*, 5, note. — 82. 5. *κατελυν*. This very technical use of *καταλύειν* is easily traced: the verb signifies 1. to unloose (sc. the sandals), 2. to rest, 3. to lodge. *παρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ Γοργίας καταλύει* Plat., *Gorg.*, 447 B. The expression is common in Plato, but rare in the orators, who employ the word more commonly of dissolution, destruction, or termination. — 6. *προξένους*, *were their public host*. The office of *πρόξενος* was analogous to that of our own consul, and the consul is called *πρόξενος* in modern Greek. For full particulars see Dict. Ant. HOSPITIUM. — *αὐτῶν*. The genitive follows *προξενεῖν* always in its literal sense: it is a possessive genitive (= *εἶναι πρόξενον αὐτῶν*) the visitor having a claim on the plighted friend of his native city: p. 194, l. 18; p. 1237, l. 17. In the secondary sense, to *address*, to *recommend*, *προξενεῖν* is followed by the dative: p. 969, l. 18; p. 1250, l. 20. — 8. *ἤσαν*. We have to supply *οἱ* for the subject out of *οὓς* before *ἡ πόλις*. — *οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη*, *accordingly none of these things was effected*, which Philip and his partisans designed. WHISTON. — 9. *σιωπῶ μὲν*. *That I hold my tongue when I have got a fee, and raise my voice when I have spent it*. Æschin., p. 85, l. 8: *σὺ δ' οἶμαι λαβὼν μὲν σσιγήκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας*, i. e. you accept a bribe to induce you to be silent, but when the money is gone you break your silence and your word together. — 12. *ἀτιμώσαντες*, by disfranchising you. See Böckh (*Econ. Ath.*, I. 409). If Æschines failed to obtain the fifth part of the votes he would be liable to disfranchisement. This was called *ἐπωβελίαν ὀφλεῖν*. Cf. p. 834, l. 25; p. 1251, l. 2, etc. The object of such penalties was to prevent prosecutions on insufficient grounds. — *οὔτοι*, sc. the judges. — 83. 13. *τούτοις*, i. e. my successful resistance on this occasion to Cleitarchus and Philistides. — *συλλαβάς*, *the same identical words*: literally, *syllables*. *δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς*, p. 270, l. 22. *πάντα τὸν νόμον μέχρι τῆς ὑστάτης συλλαβῆς*, p. 734, l. 23. This Aristonicus is incidentally mentioned with honor by Demosthenes (below, 312) as having contributed for the salvation of the state after the disastrous battle at Chæronea a sum of money which had been collected by his

friends as the means of recovering the *ἐπιτίμια* which he had lost. — 16. *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*. These words are very important, I think, for the true interpretation of *δευτέρου κηρύγματος* which follows. We know from *Æschines* (*c. Ctes.*, p. 58) the exact terms of the law which directed these proclamations. If the crown was conferred by the *βουλῇ*, the locus of proclamation was to be the *βουλευτήριον*; if by the *δῆμος*, the locus of proclamation was to be the Pnyx at the time of an *ἐκκλησία*; these, according to the cited law, were the only two places in which the said proclamations could legally be made: *μηδαμοῦ Ἀλλοθι*: *l. c.* *Æschines* is careful to insist upon this, as, of course, one point in his accusation depended entirely upon it. He then anticipates his opponent's reply, saying that *Demosthenes* will quote another law, *τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον*, which permitted an exception to the law already cited. According to this *Dionysiac* law, it was quite legitimate for such proclamations to be made, not merely in the two places specified, but also *in the theatre* itself, if only a special vote should have first been passed by the *δῆμος* to sanction the exceptional proceeding: *νόμον δεδοκῶτα ἐξουσίαν ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφανίου τραγυδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐὰν ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος*. This exception, according to *Æschines*, only applied to a crown conferred by a foreign city on an Athenian. But the orator contradicts him in 120. Of course as a locus of proclamation the theatre had the advantage of considerably greater publicity, being open to all at Athens, citizens and strangers alike, whereas the *βουλευτήριον* and the *ἐκκλησία* would only admit the presence each of their respective members. The addition therefore of *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ* enhanced the notoriety of such a donation; it also enhanced the compliment, as it implied that the services of the *στεφανούμενος* were cosmopolitan instead of merely Athenian. We can well understand that whereas the grants of crowns were common enough at this time at Athens, it was not quite so common to receive the grant of a crown which would be proclaimed *in the theatre*. It would only be done in the event of special and peculiar circumstances, deserving special and peculiar honor. *Demosthenes* says, below, 120, *μυρίους μυριάκις κεκηρῦχθαι*, but this is an obvious hyperbole: he only means that the exception to the law had very constantly been taken advantage of (but in each case, no doubt, on some plea of exceptional reasons). Had it been the normal practice thus to proclaim the crowns, that particular point of the indictment, which *Æschines* urges so strongly, would have been a simple absurdity. — 16. *δευτέρου*.

And whereas the present is now the second proclamation IN THE THEATRE *which is coming off in my honor.* We may paraphrase thus: Whereas this proposal of Ctesiphon's that my crown should be proclaimed (*in the theatre*) is not the *first* honor (of the *same exceptional kind*) which I have already received, but the *second*. With *κηρύγματος* we supply *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*, carrying on the idea of the words from where they occur immediately before. As to *τούτου*, the pronoun itself can hardly refer to any proclamation but that proposed by Ctesiphon; any other would probably be *ἐκείνου*. But the tense of *γίγνομένου* is what most forcibly points to the same conclusion; it is an instance of the present with the force of a future, when the speaker feels certain that the future event is to come off almost directly. The orator speaks in fact with the confidence of a winning cause: he is so assured of Ctesiphon's acquittal that he looks on his own crown and its proclamation as things that are actually in the present. (On this use of the tense see Madvig, 110, a. 3.) Had he referred to his previous crowning which was proposed by Aristonicus, he would infallibly have written *γενομένου* here. The interpretation may rest entirely on this change of tense as contrasted with the aorists *γράψαντος* and *ἀναρρηθέντος*. As regards the number of occasions on which it was proposed to crown the orator, we have his own assertion *τὸ πᾶσι αὐτὸς ἐστειφάνωσθαι πρότερον*, 120. Historically we can trace but four occasions: (1) on his own proposal, in 346, when he returned from the first embassy to Philip; (2) on the proposal of Aristonicus, in 340; (3) on the proposal of Demomeles and Hyperides, in 338, *vid.* 223; (4) on this proposal of Ctesiphon. I believe occasion (2) was the first when the crowning was to be proclaimed *in the theatre*; and occasion (4) was the second (*δευτέρου τούτου*) of the *same exceptional kind*. We arrive at this result by a simple process of exhaustion: *τούτου* cannot refer to (1) or (3), because the present context mentions neither of them: and it cannot refer to (2) because of the tense of *γίγνομένου* as has been explained above. Reiske and Schäfer, though referring *τούτου* to Ctesiphon's proposal, do not, I think, appreciate the point of *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*: at least they pass it in silence. Böhncke refers *τούτου* to the proposal of Aristonicus. And Whiston apparently inclines to that view himself. Indeed, Reiske is partly converted by Böhncke's showing the probable fact that Aristonicus' *στέφανος* would be the *second* in order of time. But this is at most a mere coincidence. See 120. — 84. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. This document has more claims to be

regarded as genuine than any which have preceded. Its contents are fairly in harmony with what is on record elsewhere. But the inscription and the date are full of perplexity. The Eubœan affairs to which reference is made occurred in the last six months of B. C. 340. This compliment to Demosthenes would naturally have been paid at the beginning of 339, when, as he says below, the matters were still *νέα καὶ γνώριμα* (85). Of that year Nicomachus was the Archon Eponymus. Chæronidas only came into office in 338. The addition of the name Ἡγήμονος is also perplexing. Its natural meaning would be *the son of Hegemon*. But no psephism of the time of Demosthenes ever recorded the name of the Archon's father. Now there was a man of some mark who bore the name Hegemon, belonging to this period (c. *Aristog.*, p. 784; *Plut.*, *Phoc.*, 33), and who would doubtless have been very eligible for the office of Archon Eponymus, though we do not know that he ever held it. Possibly, therefore, some copyist, detecting the inconsistency of *Χαιρώνδου*, wrote Ἡγήμονος above it, as a conjectural emendation, and subsequently both the names may have been embodied in the text. This, I presume, must have been Dobree's reason for wishing to expunge *Χαιρώνδου* here, and retain Ἡγήμονος alone. — *Φρεάρριος*. The deme Phrearri is mentioned by Harpocration as belonging to the tribe Leontis, and designated after the hero Phrearrus. — *πολλὰς...παρέσχηται*. A common formula, as Böckh has shown (*Corp. Inscript.*), occurring in documents of this nature. *Χρελα* = *services*, is rare in the orators: their usual sense of *χρελα* is *need*. But cf. Antipho (p. 121, l. 11): *τῆς χρελας τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποστερηθῶ*. — P. 30. *καινοῖς*, 54, note. — *ἀναγορεύσεις*. Post-classical. *Plut.*, *Marc.*, 4. The Greek of the period would be *ἀναρρήσεις*. — *ἀγωνοθέτην*. General name for the *umpire* or *steward* at any of the public contests, athletic, dramatic, or otherwise: used metaphorically by Æschines, p. 79, l. 29: *ἀγωνοθέτης πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς*.

85, 86. DID THIS DECREE, AS ÆSCHINES SUGGESTS, MAKE YOU RIDICULOUS IN THE EYES OF GREECE? THE MERIT OF AN ACTION IS JUDGED AT THE MOMENT. DO NOT ALL THE HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES BELONGING TO THAT SPECIAL EPOCH ATTEST THE VALUE OF MY SERVICES?

85. 2. *χλευασμόν*. *Scoff*: in p. 705, l. 2, we have the cognate form *χλευασία*. — 4. *νέα καὶ γνώριμα*, *fresh and notorious*, cf. note on ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ, 84, as to the date. — 6. *ὡς ἑτέροις*. 212, *quite otherwise*, by euphemism for *κακῶς*, which the preceding *καλῶς* would suggest as

its obvious antithesis. τὰ ἑτερα ψήφισνται οἱ δικάσται, p. 1175, l. 19. — ὥς = quite. See lex. See also 34, ἔταρον. — 86. 11. τῷ νικᾶν. Dative of the instrument: by the fact of my carrying my measures. The fuller phrase is νικᾶν ψήφισμα. Æschin., p. 63, l. 21. νικᾶν τῇ ψήφῳ, Id., p. 39, l. 36; νικᾶν γνώμας, Aristoph., Nub., 432. — 12. λέγων καὶ γράφων limits νικᾶν = in my speeches and motions. — τῷ καταπραχθῆναι and τῷ... πεποιηθῆναι are in the same construction as τῷ νικᾶν, and Bremi calls attention to the life and vigor which is imparted to these clauses by the omission of the connectives. — 14. προσόδους, i. e. to the temples = solemn processions. — 15. πεποιηθῆναι, perf. middle = caused to be made.

87-92. FAILING IN EUBŒA, PHILIP ATTEMPTED TO CUT OFF OUR SUPPLY OF CORN, AND WITH THIS VIEW, TO SEIZE BYZANTIUM. WHO RESCUED BYZANTIUM? YOU, THE STATE. WHO ADVISED YOU? I. THAT POLICY SECURED YOUR PROSPERITY FOR THE TIME, AND GAINED YOU THE VOTE OF THANKS FROM BYZANTIUM AND THE CHERSONESUS.

87. 17. τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, κ. τ. λ., in arms indeed by you, but in statesmanship and resolutions by me. Here the dative expresses the instrument, while the agent is expressed by ὑπὸ with the genitive. — 18. διαπραγῶσι, burst, i. e. by straining their lungs to contradict me. Sup. 21. Rumpfe miser tensum iecur, Juv., Sat., VII., 117. — 20. σίτην ... ἐπεισάκτω. Böckh calculates the amount of corn imported to Athens at about a million μέδιμνοι; the main supply being from the neighborhood of the Pontus. πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον ὃ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου εἰσπλέων ἐστίν, p. 466, l. 24. — P. 31, l. 1. ἡξίου. The verb ἀξιώω, from its first sense to think right, comes to signify demand or claim, often with a notion of doing so arrogantly or authoritatively, as here. Cf. p. 553, l. 19; p. 570 (fin.). — 2. οὐδ' ἐπὶ, and said that they had not made the alliance on these terms, which assertion was true. Their refusal was mainly owing to the eloquence of Demosthenes as the envoy of Athens at this time (340 B. C.). Cf. 230, 244. The orator appears to have foreseen the designs of Philip on Byzantium some months prior to this, pp. 93-106, and p. 115. — 4. χάρακα. Technically, vine-prop or stake: here, by synecdoche, for χαράκωμα: stockade, intrenchment. Bekker reads the latter; but Σ has χάρακα, and there is a gloss of Harpocration's χάρακα = χαράκωμα. On p. 71, l. 20, we have χαρακώματα καὶ τεῖχη καὶ τάφροι. On p. 568, l. 16, χάρακας is simply timber. — 5. μηχανήματα, having planted artillery: the expression indicates the severity and formality of the siege. Τοὺς τὰ

μηχανήματα ἐφίσταντας, p. 115, l. 7. Grote quotes from Athenæus, *ἐπίδο-
σιν δὲ ἔλαβεν ἡ τοιαύτη μηχανοποιία ἅπασα...κατὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύν-
του βασιλείαν ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει Βυζαντίου Φίλιππος* (fragm.), as showing
that the siege of Byzantium formed an epoch in the history of besieging
enginery. — 88. 6. οὐκέρ', i. e. he had repeatedly asked the question be-
fore: 72, 66, etc. — τὸ ἡμῖν. See C. 522, d; Cu. 379; G. 141, N. 6. — 12.
ἀπλῶς, in a word. This adverb qualifies the whole sentence between
itself and διδούς, not to be taken in connection with ἀφειδῶς, *unspar-
ingly*, which merely qualifies διδούς. The force of the *imperfect* par-
ticiples should be noted and expressed: *who was it that was all the while*
speaking and writing (making motions) *and acting, and in a word giving*
himself unsparingly to the public welfare. — 89. 15. ἐνστάς, *which was*
then upon us. The aorist participle has the force of a full perfect par-
ticiples: here we must regard it as a pluperfect, the consecution being
historic; lit. = *which had then established itself among us as a fait ac-
compli*. War was actually declared in the midsummer of 340, when
the Athenians passed a formal decree to remove the column on which
the peace of 346 stood recorded. Diodor., XVI., 77. See Grote. —
16. ἀνευ. *Besides, præterquam quod*. Non excludit sed una quoque
complectitur (Reiske). — 17. διήγεν, *kept you in greater abundance and*
cheerfulness of every necessary of life. δραχμῇ καὶ χοῖ καὶ τέτταρσιν ὀβολοῖς,
ὥσπερ ἀσθενοῦντα τὸν δῆμον διάγουσιν, p. 1459 (fin.). — 18. τῆς νῦν.
Sarcastic: *the peace of these days*: that conceded by Alexander. With
τηρούσιν sq. cf. 323. — 19. μελλούσας, *with their prospective hopes*; no
doubt sarcastically quoting some favorite phrase of the other party. —
20. ὧν, κ. τ. λ., *which hopes may they fail to realize and may they share*
*those blessings which you with the noblest of aims implore the gods to be-
stow; never may they* [the traitors] *impart to you what they have deliberately*
chosen for themselves, i. e. may the traitors be disappointed in what they
expect to get from Macedon! may they share, however, the common
blessings of their native land! but may they never induce you to
share in their corrupt proceedings, or to partake the rewards which
such baseness aspires to win! The various reading, μή before μετὰ-
σχοιεν and μηδέ (for μή) before μεταδοῖεν, alters the blessing of the
former clause into a curse. The reading of Σ (which I have retained)
gives the more generous tone to the sentence, but it may be doubted
whether the other is not more vigorous and Demosthenic. There is
nothing harsh in the asyndeton of μή—προήρηται, as regards the pre-
ceding clause. The entreaty and the deprecation stand side by side,

in effective contrast, and the contrast is emphasized by the omission of the connecting particle. — 23. **Βυζαντίων**. Subjective genitive. In 92 he prefixes the *παρά*. — 90. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ**. This document is suspected of being spurious, partly on account of the mixture of the dialects, partly because it mentions Byzantium and Perinthus as though they formed one united state, which we know historically was not the case. Dindorf is inclined to accept it as genuine; and so are Vömel and Böhncke, as usual. But Droysen and Ahrens profess to detect “certissima fraudis argumenta.” — **ἱερομνάμονος**. The name of the chief Byzantine magistracy, not to be confounded with the Attic use of this name for “envoys to the Amphictyonic council,” 148, etc. Whiston suggests that he was a religious officer, perhaps the high-priest of Poseidon, and adds, that this practice of naming the year from a religious officer prevailed in other Dorian states. Kennedy translates *ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος*, in the *presbytership of*. — **Βοσπορίχου**. Dorice for *Βοσπορίχου*. Ahrens denies that the Byzantine dialect admitted the severer Doric changes, (1) *ω* for *ου* and (2) *η* for *ει*: it was more akin, he says, to the Lesbian and Ionic. In the present document we have eleven more examples of (1) (*βωλά*, *Φιλίππου*, *τῷ*, *τὸς νόμους*, *τὸς τάφους*, *τῷ δάμω*, *τὸς στεφάνους*), and one example of (2) (*ἦμεν* for *εἶμεν*). The form *ἀμέ* is Lesbian, and *ἐπιστένεται* pure Ionic. — **ἄλλῃ**. The Doric equivalent for *ἐκκλησίᾳ*. — **βυλᾶς**. More properly *γεροντίας*. But see Müller, *Dor.*, II., p. 91. — **ράτταν**. The Doric equivalent for *προβούλευμα*. Müller, *ib.*, p. 170. Schäfer, however, takes it = *ἐξουσίαν τοῦ λέγειν*. — P. 32. **διατελεῖ**. The present tense is much affected in documents of this nature. (*Sup.*, 84, *διατελεῖ εὐρους ὧν*.) The consecution here is all primary. — **συγγένεσι**. Plutarch (*Quæst. Gr.*, c. 57) says that Perinthus was colonized by the Megarians and Samians. DISSEN. Byzantium also was founded by a colony from Megara with a mixture of Argives. — **δενδροκοπτόντος**. This *cutting down of trees* is always noticed as a prominent feature of Greek invasions and raids. Aristoph., *Pax*, 627, 9, *Ach.*, 232, etc. *καλεῖν καὶ κόπτειν* is the favorite combination in Xenophon. — **ἀμέ**. *ἀμμε* is the Doric equivalent for *ἡμᾶς*. — 91. **Βυζαντίων καὶ**. The article *τῶ* should have been repeated before *Περυνθίων* to indicate that they were separate states. — **ἐπιγαμίαν**. *Right of intermarriage*, entitling the alien to share the national privileges of the native married. — **ἔγκτασιν γῆς**. *Right of holding house and land by purchase*. Strictly forbidden to an alien at this period in all the Grecian states.

—*πρωτ.* Dorice for *πρὸς*, as *πρόδοον* for *πρόσοδοον*. — *μετὰ τὰ ἱερά*, i. e. immediately on the proceedings being formally opened. They began always with sacrificial solemnities. — *ἀλειτουργήτοις*. *Excused from all public services*. On the *λειτουργίαι* of other states as well as the Athenian, see Böckh's *Econ. Ath.*, Vol. I., Amer. ed., pp. 584, 689. See also Dic. of Antiq. — *εἰκόνας*. The nature of the group of statues to be erected is clear from the context. A figure representing Athens would be sculptured as receiving a crown from two other figures representing Byzantium and Perinthus respectively. Dissen quotes very aptly a similar case from Polybius (V., 88, 8), where Rhodes was sculptured in the Rhodian exchange as receiving a crown from Syracuse. Whiston quotes Pliny (*H. N.*, XXXV., 36, 5), who speaks of Parrhasius' statue representing the *Δῆμος* of Athens. — 92. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ**. This document is probably spurious. Droysen, p. 812. — **Χερρονησιῶν**. The Thracian Chersonese is referred to, in which these four towns had been razed to the ground by Philip 341–340 B. c. — *ἀπὸ τετάντων ἑξήκοντα*. “*ἀπὸ hoc est ex, ut Herod., VII., 65.*” DISSEN. So again 102. The general solution of this passage is to suppose the talent here spoken of to have been the small golden talent, equal to six Attic drachmæ (weight) of gold, i. e. sixty of silver. Böckh (*Econ. Ath.*, I., 39). But the question of the value of a talent in the Chersonese and other remote states is in great obscurity. Smith, Dict. Antiq., Talentum. — *χάριτος βωμόν*. *Altar of thanksgiving*. So *βωμοὶ δίκης καὶ εὐνομίας*, p. 780, l. 22. — *παράτιος γέγονε*. *Has helped...to obtain* (Kennedy). The phrase is of no uncommon occurrence in similar votes of thanks. — *τῆς Φιλίππου*. We may supply at discretion *ἀρχῆς, δυνάμεως, χειρὸς*, or the like. Dissen prefers the last, citing Æschin., *c. Ctes.*, p. 90, *ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν Φιλίππου*. But the plural in such a case is more natural than the singular. — *τὰ ἱερά*, i. e. the temples and all thereto appertaining, including the national religion. Cf. Thucyd., IV., 98, *τὸν δὲ νόμον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι ὡς ἂν ἡ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐκάστης τούτων καὶ τὰ ἱερά δεῖ γίνεσθαι*. — *οὐκ ἔλαψα*. The subject, *ὁ δῆμος τῶν Χερρονησιῶν*, is obvious from the context.

93–101. MY POLICY DID NOT MERELY SAVE THESE PLACES, AND PRESERVE THE FREEDOM OF GREECE, BUT IT ALSO SHOWED THE CHARACTER OF ATHENS IN THE MOST BRILLIANT CONTRAST TO THE CHARACTER OF PHILIP. AND LET ME ALSO JUSTIFY MY POLICY BY AN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT. LOOK AT THE CONDUCT

INVARIABLY PURSUED BY YOUR FOREFATHERS, AND BY THE OLDER AMONG YOU, IN THE TIMES OF LACEDÆMONIAN, AND AFTERWARDS OF THEBAN, SUPREMACY. ATHENIANS HAVE ALWAYS FOUGHT FOR HONOR AND LIBERTY. NO LEAVEN OF MALICE OR REVENGE HAS EVER DEGRADED THEIR FEELINGS.

93. P. 33, l. 1. οὐ μόνον, 2, note, s. v. — 4. ἡ προαίρεσις καὶ ἡ πολιτεία. Dissen calls attention to this as a favorite expression of the orator. See 292, 317. Render, *My policy and administration*. — 6. καλοκαγαθίαν. *Spirit of honor*. The combination of high physical and mental qualities, implied in the well-known phrase καλὸς κάγαθός, approximates, in its idiomatic usage, to our own expression "man of honor." Here we have the antithesis κακίαν, *baseness*. — 94. 10. οἱ μπεμπάμενοι... ἄν = οἱ ἐμπεψασθε ἄν. C. 618; Cu. 595; G. 211; H. 803. — 11. ἡγνωμονήκεσαν. *Their acts of trespass* (74), i. e. in the Social War, B. C. 357–355; the then allies included, with Byzantium, Chios, Rhodes, and Cos. — 12. οὐ μόνον. *Showed yourselves not merely as bearing no malice and never abandoning the victims of wrong, but even as working their salvation*. σώξω is not simply to deliver from danger, but to restore to a sound condition. — 17. σύμβουλον... ῥήτορα, a counsellor and orator I mean. He does not mean to deny that the generals had sometimes been the means of the state being honored with crowns. — 95. 20. Εὐβοέων. *Æschin.*, p. 65, περὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων πρῶτον μνησθήσομαι. The speech of *Æschines* as published does not contain any allusion to the Byzantines; but the speech, as spoken, we must assume, had done so. — 22. βλασφημίας = *defumations, συνκοφαντίας* = *malignant calumnies*. — 23. ὑπάρχειν εἰδότας. ὑπάρχειν as an auxiliary verb presents the strongest form of the present tense. Dissen cites as parallels, p. 190, ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες, and p. 527, ἐγνωσμένα ὑπάρχει. We have another instance in 228. Whiston renders: *Of this I believe you are already well assured*. — 24. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ... χρήσασθαι, but also by the fact that it was for your interest so to conduct your affairs as I conducted them. The clause is dative of means, limiting ἐπιδείξω. — 28. καθ' ὑμᾶς. *In your time*, literally *in your track*, i. e. in the path of your own lives: on κατ', cf. 17: κατ' ἐκείνους. — 27. τῇ πόλει = *by the state*, dative of the agent after a passive verb. C. 461; Cu. 434; G. 188, 3; H. 600. — P. 34, l. 2. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. *To shape all their future with reference to the best of their present*. He quotes a general γνώμη with a somewhat unusual application. The connection shows that τῶν ὑπαρχόντων includes their antecedents together

with the present. — 96. 4. **Λακεδαιμονίων**. Vides tempus post Peloponnesiacum bellum describi. DISSEN. — 5. **ἑρμοσταίς**, 18 : **οἱ πρότερον**. — 6. **Εἰθόιαν**. Captured by the Lacedæmonians B. C. 411. Thucyd., VIII., 93. — **Τάναγραν**. Xen. (*Hell.*, V., 4) mentions that Tanagra remained attached to Lacedæmon after the rest of Boeotia went to war with her. The whole of Boeotia was in the hands of the Lacedæmonians from the close of the Peloponnesian war to the battle of Leuctra. — 7. **Μέγαρα**. Taken from the Athenians by Brasidas, 424 B. C., and attached to Lacedæmon from that time forward. Thucyd. (IV., 66) mentions that the Peloponnesians garrisoned Nisæa for the protection of Megara against Athens. — **Αἴγναν**. Lysander, in the year 405, restored this island to its original inhabitants whom the Athenians had ejected in 431. Xen., *Hell.*, II., 2; Thucyd., II., 27. — **Κλεωνέας**. The date of this city's capture by the Lacedæmonians is not recorded in history. It is singular, as Dissen observes, that the orator should not have arranged the names Κλεωνέας, Εἰθόιαν, Αἴγναν, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους. But the phrase "the rest of the islands," even standing independently of any island previously mentioned, would always mean to Athenian ears the minor Ægean isles. Plut., *Lys.*, 13, 14. — 8. **οὐ τεύχη**. Cf. Plutarch *l. c.* Lysander destroyed the long walls, and limited the Athenian navy to twelve ships of war only : *οὕτε ναὺς* is therefore not to be understood as literal. — 9. **Ἀλκίαν**. The scene of the battle in Boeotia, B. C. 395, where Lysander fell. The inhabitants of Haliartus had implored the aid of Athens : Thrasybulus with great energy had led the Athenian forces to the rescue. Pausanias only arrived the day after the battle with the Lacedæmonian reinforcements : he was deterred from further hostilities, made a truce and retired. — 10. **Κόρινθον**. The centre of the Corinthian war, which lasted for eight years after Haliartus and was only concluded by the peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387. The alliance against Lacedæmon was composed of the Boeotians, Argives, Corinthians, and Athenians. p. 40, l. 20 ; p. 258, l. 13. — 11. **ἀν ἐχόντων**. *Might have borne many grudges* = καίτοι ἀν εἶχον. — 12. **Δεκελειόν**. The close of the Peloponnesian war was so called from the occupation of Decelea by the Lacedæmonians, its position on the frontier of Attica making it a convenient base of hostilities. — **τῶν πραγμάτων** is genitive of cause. — 97. 18. **διδόναι**. *To give themselves up*. A favorite use of the word, 80, ἀφειδῶς ἐαυτὸν διδοὺς εἰς τὰ πράγματα. 219, ἔδωκεν ἐαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει. The continual and customary

action expressed by the imperfects *ἐπολουν*, *ἐώρων*, *πότερτο*, and *ἤθελον* should be noted. — *πέρας*. For all mankind have death as their limit of life, even if one shut himself up and keep himself safe in a dove-cote. This is the meaning Harpocration assigns to *οἰκίσκος*, and the literal translation seems most vigorous here. Whiston translates *chamber or closet*. The passage is greatly lauded by all the ancient critics, notably by Hermiogenes, Aristides, and Rufus. Propertius (cited by Disson) illustrates the sentiment, III., 18. 25 : Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et ære, Mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput. — *ὀρθῶς... βουλευόμενοι* in this emphatic position = *and a right and noble decision it was*. — 22. *ἀγαθὴν* is separated from *ἐλπίδα* to point the emphasis of *ἀγαθοῦς* above. *Good men and true* — *taking for their shield good hope and true*. *προβαλέσθαι μὲν Εὐβοίαν τῆς Ἀττικῆς*, 301. See the same figure in Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, vi. 16. — 98. 24. *πρόγονοι*. There was an interval of sixty years at least between these events and the time when he is speaking. — *πρεσβύτεροι*, i. e. when the Athenians under Iphicrates checked Epaminondas in his design of destroying Sparta and compelled him to evacuate Laconia, in the year 369. Xen., *H. G.*, VI., 5. — 25. *ὄντας*, concessive. — P. 35, l. 2. *οἷα πεποιηκότων*, reflecting *what the men had done for whom you were to imperil yourselves*. On relative pronouns used interrogatively, as *οἷα* here, see Madvig, *G. S.*, 198, b ; H. 825 ; C. 564. As to the interrogative sentence in a participial form, cf. Madv., 198, a. *καταμεμάθηκας ὅν τοὺς ἅτι ποιῶντας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἀποκαλοῦσιν*, Xen., *Mem.*, II., 2 ; H. 826 ; C. 566. — 99. 8. *ὑπολογίσειθε*. *Take it into calculation*: explained by *διαλογισάμενοι* and the preceding words in 98. *ὑπο* implying an underhand (as *δια* - a thorough) proceeding. — 10. *Εὐβοίαν*. In the year 358 there were two factions in Eubœa, one of which applied to the Thebans for aid, and the other to the Athenians. The Thebans were compelled to yield, and the democratic constitutions of the several states were restored. Diod., XVI., 7 ; Æschin., p. 65. DISSEN. — *Θεμισῶνος*. Themiso and Theodorus, the *τύραννοι* of Eretria in 366 B. C., seized Oropus which was then Athenian. Peace subsisted at the time. The city was put into the hands of the Thebans, to be held by them until the question, who had the right to it, should be settled. The Thebans subsequently declined to give it up. This is the allusion in Aristot., *Rhet.*, I., 7, where he mentions Callistratus and Chabrias as having been put on their trial. They had commanded the Athenian forces on this occasion. — 12. *ἔθελον*.

των. The first instance of citizens volunteering to act as extraordinary trierarcha. On the general office of trierarch, see Smith, Dic. of Antiq. — 14. ἀλλ' οὕτω, sc. εἰπὺν μέλλω. — 100. καίτοι καλὸν μὲν ἐποίησατε. And indeed though you did a noble thing in saving the island, yet you acted much more nobly in that, when you had become masters both of their persons and their cities, you restored them justly, etc. καὶ before τὸ σώσαι = also; it emphasizes the comparison between the two clauses, and can hardly be expressed in idiomatic English. καταστάντες agrees in case with the subject of ἐποίησατε, which is also the subject of ἀποδοῦναι. — 18. μὴδὲν ὦν, having taken no account of your past wrongs in regard to what you were trusted with: ὦν and οἷς by attraction for ἐκείνων δ and τοῦτοις δ respectively: ἡδίκησθε, as a perfect tense, indicating the complete and serious nature of the wrongs. The sense of the passage is this: You did not take advantage of holding their property so as to appropriate any to yourselves, by way of indemnification for past injuries received at their hands. — 23. ἐλευθερίας. Genitive of cause, without a preposition to introduce it. For the principle, see Madv., G. S., 58, a; C. 429. — 101. 26. ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, on her own behalf, p. 74, καὶ (Φίλιππος) πεποίηχ' ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μὴδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλὴν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀττικὴν πολέμου. — 27. βουλῆς οὕτως is gen. abs. denoting time and cause, when the deliberation was in a manner in behalf of herself. — καλεῖσθαι = urge, move. — P. 36, l. 1. μνησικακεῖν. The irony is obvious. As an example of νῆ Δία, in irony, Whiston aptly cites the c. Mid., p. 527, l. 14, τίς ἀνθρωπίνῃ καὶ μετρίᾳ σκῆψις φανέεται τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ; ὀργὴ νῆ Δία καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τυχὸν λέξει. — 4. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων...καλῶν, glorious antecedents. WHISTON. Cf. note, 95. — 5. λόγῳ...τό γε ἔργον. The favorite antithesis of Pericles, Thucyd., II., 35–46 *passim*.

102–106. I PROCEED, IN MY RETROSPECT, TO MY NEXT POLITICAL ACTION, WHEN I RECONSTITUTED YOUR NAVY, AND COMPELLED THE SECTIONS TO DO THEIR DUTY. HERE IS THE EVIDENCE.

102. 12. καταλυόμενον, in a state of dissolution. καταλύσις τριήρων δμολογείται αὕτη εἶναι πρώτη δταν τις μισθὸν μὴ δῶ p. 1209, l. 11. In that passage there is a play upon the word which would mean *dissbanding* as well as *ruin*. The orator was at this time in office as ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, i. e. a Member of the Naval Board. Æschin. (p. 85). — 13. ἀτελεῖς, *immunes: exempted*. ἀτελής τῶν ἄλλων λειτουργιῶν, p. 565, l. 4. — ἀπό, at a cost of = the Latin *pro: ἀπὸ τῶν αὐ-*

τῶν λημμάτων στρατιώτης, i. e. at the same pay, p. 38, l. 2. Cf. *sup.* ἀπὸ ταλάντων, 92. Dissen cites ἀπὸ σμικροῦ Aristoph., *Plut.*, 377. The wealthy citizens, when appointed trierarchs, used to contract for the whole expense of the office at a cost of one talent: cf. p. 364. — 15. ὑστερίζουσιν, missing for want of punctuality. ὑστεριοῦμεν ἀπάντων, p. 49, l. 1. τοὺς ἀποστόλους ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, p. 50, l. 11. — 16. ἔθηκα. Strictly the active τιθεῖν νόμον would only apply to one despotic lawgiver. *Sup.*, 6. Here the orator applies it to himself, as he did before to Solon, to indicate the extent of his influence. The law in question was proposed by him B. C. 340. — 103. 20. γραφεῖς, having been indicted for this trial. The passive γράφεσθαι (in this technical sense) is often constructed with an accusative of cognate meaning (see Madvig., *G. S.*, 26, b.), γραφὴν ὕβρεως γραφεῖς οὐδέπω τούτων δίκην δέδωκε, Isæus, p. 73, l. 75. The accusative ἀγῶνα has to do double duty, depending on γραφεῖς in the above construction and also on εἰσῆλθον which follows. Cf. εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφὴν, 105. — 21. εἰσῆλθον, sc. εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. I came into court into your presence is the literal meaning here. Dissen remarks that εἰσέρχεσθαι and εἰσιέναι are used both of the prosecutor (see p. 501, l. 19) and of the defendant (see p. 1081, l. 13). We may paraphrase the passage: On this count I was indicted and appeared before you and obtained acquittal. — τό, sc. τὸ πέμπτον, 82 note ἀτιμώσαντες. — 23. ἡγεμόνας. *The Heads of the Sections.* At this time (from 358 onwards) the expenses of the Navy were provided for on the same system as the Property Tax. Each of the ten tribes at Athens nominated its 120 wealthiest citizens to serve as Subscribers (συντελεῖς) to the Naval Expenses. These 120 were divided into two Sections (συμμορίαι) of 60. Thus a company would be formed of 1200 Subscribers, divided into 20 Sections. By a separate subdivision they were arranged in four classes of 300 each, in reference to the actual amount of their property. The first (i. e. the wealthiest) class were entitled ἡγεμόνες or πάντες πλούσιοι or οἱ τριακῆσιοι. They appear to have served as a general committee of management, and, in the event of any sudden demand for money, it was their duty to pay over the amount at once to the state (c. *Phænipp.*, p. 146) on behalf of the whole Company. The remaining three classes (ἡττον πλούσιοι) would then reimburse the ἡγεμόνες by paying up their shares in instalments at their convenience. By this system every συντελής paid exactly the same amount of tax, whatever the amount of his income. The reform

proposed by the orator was, that the amount of tax henceforward should be in proportion to the respective properties. This change, of course, would be a great relief to the lowest class of *συντελεῖς*, but the *ἡγεμόνες*, the *δεύτεροι*, and the *τρίτοι* would have obvious reasons for objecting. — 24. *δευτέρους*, the *Second Class*, i. e. the second wealthiest 300. For fuller account of the Sections see Dic. Antiq., *εἰσφορά* and *συμμορία*. — *διδόναι*, imperfect: *were for giving me* i. e. *offered me*: *δραχμας πενήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἐδίδον*, p. 542, l. 9. — 25. *μάλιστα μὲν*, *if possible*, lit. *as most to be desired*. This antithesis to *εἰ δὲ μή* is too common to require illustration. — 26. *καταβάλοντα*. I agree with Kennedy in taking this to mean *after having proposed it* (the law), lit. *having entered it* in the public register, kept *ἐν τῷ Μητροῶν*, the Temple of the Mother of the Gods. Whiston and others prefer to interpret “having dropped it,” as an expansion of *ἔαν*. But I rather doubt this use of *καταβάλλειν* in the orators. We have, indeed, in Aristotle, *πολλοὶ λόγοι πρὸς αὐτὰ καταβέβληνται* (“thrown away upon”) *N. E.* (3) 5 (*fin.*). — *ἔαν κ. τ. λ.*, *to let it drop under an affidavit*. One method of obstructing a proposed law was for its opponent to take an affidavit that he would prosecute the proposer on a charge of *παράνομα* (13). This affidavit being taken, the piece of legislation had to be suspended until the action for *παράνομα* should have been settled. Matters being thus in abeyance, there was a famous opening for collusion and compromise: the prosecutor, for instance, might agree with the legislator that the former would proceed no further with his action if the latter would proceed no further with his law. This or the like conspiracy is implied in the present passage. — *ἑπωμοσία*. Harpocration mentions another technical meaning of this word = “oath of excuse on the part of a defendant,” the object, however, being the same in that case also, viz., to “delay the proceedings.” *τὸ ὑπερτίθεσθαι δίκην προφάσει χρώμενον ἀποδημία ἢ νόσῳ ἢ τινι τῶν παραπλησίῳ μεθ’ ὅρκου*. — 27. *ἴσα*. *An amount that I should be shocked to mention*. Rhetorical artifice. Dinarchus states the amount at three talents, and declares that the orator took it. *εἰσὶ τῶες ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τριακοσίοις γεγεννημένων δὲ οὗτος ἐτίθει τὸν περὶ τριηράρχων νόμον; οὐ φράσετε τοῖς πλησίον ὅτι τρία τάλαντα λαβὼν μετέγραφε καὶ μετεσκεύαζε τὸν νόμον καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπώλει ὧν εἰλήφει τὴν τιμὴν, τὰ δ’ ἀποδόμενος οὐκ ἐβεβαίον; c. Demosth., p. 95, 42. — 104. P. 37, l. 1. *καὶ ταῦτ’*. *And very natural were these intrigues on their part*. *ἐπραττον*, as the imper-*

fect of uncompleted action. — *ἦν γὰρ κ. π. λ.* *For under the previous laws they had to serve sixteen together, spending little or nothing themselves but grinding down the impoverished of the citizens; whereas, under my law, they had to return the rated amount in each case according to their property, and the man appeared as trierarch of two triremes who previously subscribed a mere sixteenth to one.* — 2. *λατουργεῖν*. This infinitive and *τιθέναι* which follows are the subjects of *ἦν*, on which *αὐτοῖς* depends as a dative of reference. Madvig, *G. S.*, 38, a; C. 459. — 3. *μικρὰ καί*. An instance of the Greek idiom which introduces the conjunctive particle where the disjunctive would be most natural. *τὸ δυσμαχώτατον τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῶν καὶ βέλτιστον*, p. 10, l. 9. In such passages *καί* is emphatic = *yes, even*. — 4. *τοὺς ἀπόρους*, i. e. the fourth class of the *συντελεῖς* above described. — *ἐπιτρίβουσι*. The orator uses *ἐπιτρίβει* with another sense of *ruin*, p. 288, l. 20, *ἐπιτρίβει τοὺς ἥρωας κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος*. — 5. *τὸ γιγνόμενον*, *the result produced*: i. e. the amount arrived at by calculating the rate on the whole amount of their property (*κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν*). By the law of Nausinicus (B. C. 378) the rate was one fifth. — *ἕκαστον*, neut. agreeing with *τὸ γιγνόμενον*. So Holmes. More probably masc., subject of *τιθέναι*. So Whiston and Westermann. — 6. *ὁ*. The ratable proportion of such a person's property must have amounted to twice ten talents, according to the second *κατάλογος*, 106. His property would therefore be one hundred talents. *τὸ γιγνόμενον* *sup. note*. — 7. *τριηράρχους*, i. e. evading the real duties of the *τριηραρχία* they had even dropped the name under the system of *συντέλεια*. — *Οὐδέ* = *not even*. — *ἔτι* = *any longer*. *For they did not even any longer call themselves trierarchs.* — 8. *ὥστε δῆ. Sooth, to get these reforms suppressed and evade the compulsion to do what was right, there is nothing in the world which they did not offer.* We have to supply *αὐτοῖς* with the infinitive *ἀναγκασθῆναι*. — 105. 11. *καθ' ὃ*, *in consequence of which I was prosecuted* = *that line of procedure which led to the result in question.* — 12. *κατάλογους*. *Schedules*. The usual sense of *κατάλογος* is a *muster-roll* or *registered list*. We should have expected the documents which follow, as Newman observes, to contain the names of citizens with the respective amount of their properties specified. As it is, they merely contain what appear to be fragments of laws. — *ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ*. Clearly spurious from its contents. It is not a decree, but a mere historical memorandum. — *Πολυκλέους*. The date of the trierarchic reforms was 340. Theophrastus, not Polyces, is the Archon Eponymus on record. DINDORF. — *τριη-*

παρχικόν. Several codices insert *ἐς τό* before this word. The sense would not be affected; only in that case we must render *in relation to the trierarchic department*. The expression would be harsh and unusual. Newman translates *ἐς τό κ. τ. λ.*, "laid a copy of the law before the admiralty"; an interpretation hardly tenable. — **ἐπιχειροτόνησεν.** *Ratified the law.* The *ἐπιχειροτονια νόμων* is mentioned in p. 706, l. 7. — **ἀπήνεγκε, sc. γραφήν.** *Brought a charge; literally carried it off to the Archon.* See note 54. — **τὰς πεντακοσίας.** *Legitima erat mille drachmarum poena sed minui poterat a populo.* V. Lelyveld, *de infamia*, p. 235. **DISSSEN.** See Smith's *Dic. Antiq.*, *Γραφή*. Observe the force of the article = *the usual or legal*. — 106. 14. **καλόν.** *That precious*, viz., the old one. Ironical: *καλὴν γε ὄβρυν ἤμεν ἂν ὑβρισμένοι*, p. 128, l. 2. — **καλέσθαι.** *The trierarchs to be summoned, sixteen for each trireme, ἐπὶ = per, distributive.* For the use of the infinitive here, see C. 670; G. 271. — **λόχοις.** Usually of a military division, but Aristotle uses it as correlative with *φρατρία* and *φύλη* which are civil (*Pol.*, 5. 8). It is generally supposed to be synonymous with *συμμορία* here. Whiston translates, *according to the associations in the classes — ἐπὶ ἴσων, to an equal extent*, i. e. share and share alike, *equally*. — **χορηγία.** *Discharging their office.* *χορ.* here is not in its strict acceptation, but in the general sense of *λειτουργία*, which Wolf notices on the *Leptin.*, p. 462, l. 20. — P. 38. **τοὺς τριηράρχους.** *The trierarchs to be taken for each trireme, according to their property by valuation, from ten talents upwards, ἀπὸ* first of the "origin" for the selection, secondly, of the "point from which" they should begin to reckon. The notion of *κατὰ τιμήσιν* has been already explained: *τὸ γινόμενον sup.* 104 note. — **ἐὰν δέ.** *But if their property be rated at a larger sum, let their service be in the same proportion up to three vessels and a tender; i. e. for every ten talents in the rating let them provide one trireme; but of this the following limit: no one to be called upon for more than three triremes and a small vessel of war. πλοίων* usually of merchant ships, but used as the generic name for any vessel. — **κατὰ τήν.** *And let it (λειτουργία) be in the same proportion for those persons also whose property [as rated] is less than the ten talents, forming themselves into a company to make up the ten talents, i. e. till the rated amounts of their joint properties make up that sum.* The use of *ἐς* here, as of *ἀπὸ* above, is somewhat harsh and overstrained; but the meaning is obvious from the context.

107-109. WAS THIS A SLIGHT SERVICE OF MINE? DID IT NOT

TRANSFER THE BURDEN FROM THE POORER CLASSES TO THE RICH! DURING ALL THE WAR, THANKS TO MY DECREE, THERE WAS NO APPEAL FOR RELIEF PRESENTED BY ANY OFFICER. MY POLICY WAS AS BENEFICIAL TO YOU AS IT WAS CONDUCIVE TO YOUR HONOR. AS I DECLINED TO CONCILIATE THE WEALTHY THEN, SO AM I ABOVE SUSPICION IN THE MATTER OF PHILIP'S BRIBES.

107. 4. τοῦ. Genitive of the object of the price, or of the purpose. Madvig, *G. S.*, 65, 6; C. 664; Cu. 574, 3; G. 262, 2; H. 781. — 5. πλοῦστοι. We have to supply δοκοῦσιν from δοκῶ above. — τῷ. Dative of cause. σεμνίζομαι more usually has ἐπὶ with dative, p. 617, l. 5. — καθυφαίνει. *To compromise.* καθυφαίνει τὸν ἀγῶνα, p. 525, l. 26; p. 563, l. 19; p. 652, l. 21; literally *to drop in an underhand manner.* — 6. οὐδέ, and not only, the force of the μόνον still continuing. Cf. 93 and 2, note. — 7. πείραν δεδωκέναι, *to have given proof in action.* p. 663, l. 19, πείραν ἔργῳ λαβών. — 8. πάντα τὸν πόλεμον. B. C. 340 (73) to 338. — γιγνομένων. *Being appointed.* — ἀποστόλων, *sup.* 80. — 9. ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε. *Appealed*, literally *deposited a bough of supplication*: the formal method of appealing to the state for relief. The bough was of olive, bound with wool (εἰλεσιώνη). There were two forms of the appeal; one to the βουλῇ, the other to the δῆμος: in the former case the suppliant deposited his bough as an offering on the altar in the βουλευτήριον; in the latter case on the altar in the Pnyx. — 10. παρ' ὑμῖν, *before you*, sc. the people. Observe the emphatic repetition of the negative οὐχ...οὐκ...οὐχ...οὐ without any connective. It may be expressed by *none*. — 11. Μουνυχία. The altar of Artemis Munychia; so called from its being situated in the vicinity of the port. This proceeding was another form of appeal. Soph., *O. T.*, 2, 3. — ἐκαθήγετο, *seated himself*, that is, *took refuge*. — ἀποστόλων. *The Naval Board* who superintended the affairs of the ἀπόστολοι. They were ten in number (p. 1147). From ἐδέθη which follows it is clear that they had the power of imprisonment. — 12. ἔξω, *at sea*, opposed to αὐτοῦ, *in harbor*. Observe the distinction between καταλειφθεῖσα, *abandoned*, and ἀπελείφθη, *left behind*. — 14. ἀνάγεσθαι. *To put out.* p. 910, l. 7: the antithesis to κατάγεσθαι, p. 96, l. 27. — 108. ἐν τοῖς πένησιν. *Thrown upon the poorer classes.* τὸ αἰτιῶν is the accusative case. Madvig, *G. S.*, 31, c. — P. 39, l. 2. βάσκανον, κ. τ. λ., *malignant and malevolent and corrupt*. The allusion in the author's favorite words, βάσκανος, βασκαίνω, βασκανία, is always to malicious mischief, the literal sense which refers to the *evil eye* being merged in

the metaphorical. We have βάσκανος again 119, 132, 242, 317. — 4. οὐδὲ ταπανόν is emphatic = *no, nor mean*. — 5. ἔχων...φανήσομαι, *I shall be shown to have*, that is, *it will be clearly proved that I have*. — 109. 10. ἀντί. *In preference to*. ἀντί πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐλθεῖναι, p. 9, l. 1. This use of the preposition is very common.

110. I WILL NOW REPLY TO THE SPECIAL CHARGES OF ILLEGALITY IN THE MATTER OF THE PROCLAMATION AND THE AUDIT.

13. κηρύγματος...ἐθνῶν, 55. — 16. τὰ μέγιστα. He alludes to the sequel of his policy up to the date of Chæroneæ. — 18. ὑπολαμβάνων, κ. τ. λ. *Conceiving as I do, in the first place, that, next in order, I must render the explanation concerning the illegality itself* (with which I am charged); *in the second place, that, although I say not a word about the sequel of my policy, yet I shall equally (all the same) have to my credit that consciousness of the facts which is in each of your hearts*.

111-116. I DO NOT DENY MY RESPONSIBILITY TO AUDIT. BUT I DO DENY ON PRINCIPLE THAT A DONOR IS PRECLUDED FROM A VOTE OF THANKS BECAUSE HE CHANCES TO BE AN OFFICIAL. OTHER DONORS HAVE RECEIVED THE THANKS OF THE STATE FOR THEIR DONATIONS THOUGH HOLDING OFFICE AT THE TIME AND THEREFORE RESPONSIBLE AS I WAS. I CITE THE DECREES TO PROVE IT.

111. 23. ἄνω καὶ κάτω, *up and down*, the favorite phrase to indicate total confusion, p. 51, l. 2; p. 120, l. 19; p. 424, l. 27. The French *bouleversement* is analogous. — 24. διακυκῶν, *jumbling*. KENNEDY. Perhaps the whole may be paraphrased in a *bewildered medley*. — παραγεγραμμένων. *Transcribed for comparison*. The clauses of such laws as conflicted with Ctesiphon's proposal Æschines would exhibit in writing side by side with particular clauses of the latter. Cf. p. 640, l. 20, οὐ τοίνυν τούτους μόνον τοὺς νόμους, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραβέβηκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς οὓς οὐ παραγεγράμμεθα διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. — 26. τοὺς πολλοὺς, sc. λόγων, *the majority of them*. — τὴν ὁρθὴν, sc. δόξαν. Adverbial accusative. Cf. 322. — 27. τοσοῦτου γὰρ δέου. *For I am so far from disowning my responsibility, as alleged by the plaintiff in his recent imputation and asseveration, that I own myself to have been responsible, my whole life through, for any commission or policy which I have sustained before you*. διωρίζετο describes the minute exactness with which Æschines had defined the illegal acts: ὧν, by attraction, depending on ὑπεύθυνος: διακεχέλρικα of special offices, as distinct from general administration. — 112. P. 40, l. 4. ὧν μέντοι γὰρ. *But for*

what I have given to the commonwealth on my own offer from my private property, for that, I say, I am not responsible, no not for a single day. — *δέδωκα* in connection with *ἐπαγγειλάμενος* amounts to *ἐπιδέδωκα*. On the subject of *ἐπιδόσεις* (patriotic donations) cf. Smith, Dic. Ant., sub verbo. — 6. *οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα*, sc. *ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι*: the subject of *εἶναι* here passes into the accusative, as it is no longer identical with the subject of *φημι*. Madvig, *G. S.*, 160, 161. — 7. *οὐδ' ἄν*. Not even if he chance to be one of the nine Archons; i. e. however distinctly official may be the position which he holds, it would not preclude him from receiving the thanks of the state for his patriotic donations. That would be virtually making him *ὑπεύθυνος* (forsooth) in respect of the donations themselves. The orator's argument, put more plainly, is this. I gave large donations to the state: true I was a state official at the time, and so far responsible to scrutiny; but the vote of thanks was awarded to me not at all as a state official, simply as a state benefactor. The argument of Æschines had been that the orator's donations must not be allowed to justify a proceeding which was ipso facto illegal, viz. the crowning of a commissioner before the accounts of his commission had been audited (c. *Ctesiph.*, p. 56). — 10. *φιλόδωρον*. *Munificent*. We should naturally expect a word so formed to mean *fond of gifts*, not *fond of giving*. SCHÄFER. It is the only exception to the rule of words compounded with *φιλο-*. — 11. *συκοφάντας*. To take him before the Pettifoggers and set them to audit his donations. For *λογιστάς* or *εὐθύνους* he substitutes, by contempt, *συκοφάντας*, the acme of opprobrious designation. It would be monstrous, he means, for such a donor to be cited before the Auditors at all; still more monstrous if the Auditors in question happened, as was likely enough, to be a set of pettifogging scoundrels. — 113. 15. *οὗτος* is subject of *φησὶν* in the next line. — 16. *ἐπιδωκα*. Cf. *ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα*, 112, note, and 28. — *ἐπῆμυσεν*. Æschines had said nothing of the kind. See c. *Ctesiph.*, p. 55, where the whole and sole point is *μη στεφανοῦν*. The orator, however, prefers to cite the substance and not the letter of the charge, for obvious reasons. The strength of the charge lay in its letter entirely. — 17. *οὐ περ...οὐδενός*, yes, but not for any of these. *γέ* = yes but. So *γέ*, below, l. 20, may be rendered yes. — 21. *οὐκ ὁλογίζομην*, made no account of it, that is, did not charge it to the state. — *ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμός, κ. τ. λ.*, for an account requires audits and examiners, but a free gift deserves thanks and praise. — 24. *δεῖ*. Deictic: pointing to Ctesiphon, who would be standing by. — *οὕτω ἄρι-*

σταί = *this is a settled principle*. — 114. 26. ἔθεσιν. This is an almost irresistible correction for the manuscript ἡθεσιν, suggested by Reiske and adopted by Dindorf. The antithesis of ἔθος, *conventional practice*, to νόμος, *legal rule*, is so very constant, p. 414, l. 8, and 275, τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀθροῦσι ἔθεσι. On the contrast of ἔθος and ἡθος, cf. Aristot., *N. E.*, II. 1. So Holmea. The best editors, however, generally adhere to ἡθεσιν, *habits, ethics*, which is equally appropriate. — 27. Ναυσικλῆς. His case corresponds to the orator's only so far, that he was *ἀπείθυνος* as being in office (στρατηγῶν) and yet received a crown several times in that period. — στρατηγῶν. In command of the Athenian contingent which supported the Phocians in 352. Diodorus, XVI., 37. — P. 41, l. 2. ὅτι. There is a various reading ὅτι, *because*; but only in b. The alteration seems undesirable, especially as we need a particle of time to explain the change of tense in ἐστεφανοῦντο compared with the perfects which precede and follow. Drake, in his edition of the two Orations on the Crown, says: The perfect (ἐστεφανώται and τετέλεται) denotes that Nausicles and Neoptolemus were still living, the imperfect (ἐστεφανοῦντο) that Diotimus and Charidemus were dead. But? The last is rather the relative imperfect. — Διότιμος. Possibly the same person as is mentioned in the *c. Mid.*, p. 581, where ὁ Εὐωνυμὸς is added. Spalding considers them identical. Arrian (I., 10. 6) mentions a Diotimus as one of the ten orators whose surrender Alexander demanded. *Sup.*, 41 (*fin.*). — 3. Χαρίδemos. Probably the same person as appears in the *c. Aristocr.*, 623 sq., a native of Oreus in Euboea and commander of the mercenary auxiliaries to Cersobleptes in Thrace. — οἰσοῦ. Deictic, as ὅδε, 113. We have Neoptolemus mentioned in the *c. Mid.*, p. 583, l. 14. — 4. ἔργων, i. e. *public works*. See Dic. Ant., s. v. Ἐπιστάτης. — 7. ἐξέσταί. *Is to be allowed*. The indic. future is more vigorous in this protasis than the natural optative; cf. 63, καλέσαι. — 115. 9. τοῖς αὐτοῖς... ἀντά, *the very decrees which have been passed in honor of these men*. — Ἀρχων. This pendent nominative, in lieu of the usual Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος, at once suggests a spurious document. — Φλυεύς. The deme Phlyes was in the tribe Cecropis. Droysen (p. 924) pronounces Demonicus to be "pseudonymus." The addition of the deme to the name of the archon is unusual and marks the document as spurious. — ἑκτῇ. *The twenty-sixth*. Usitatio altera numerandi ratio πέμπτῃ φθίνοντος: sed illius quoque exempla attulit Böckh., *de Arch. Pseudep.*, pp. 150, 154. DISSEN. See Dic. Ant., Calendar. — δοκέ. On the present tense,

cf. 90, διατελλεί, note. — *ἑπλων.* *Sup.*, 38, note, s. v.: where also *διοικήσεως inf.* is explained. — *Ἰμβρο.* Dissen supposes that this refers to the Social war of 355. Diodorus, XVI., 21. There must have been Athenian garrisons at that time in Lemnos and Imbros both. — *κατοικοῦσιν*, i. e. as colonists (*κληροῦχοι*). — *χαμῶνας.* Referred by some commentators to the Etesian winds. Dindorf takes it of ordinary bad weather. — *εἰσέπραξε.* *Exacted repayment from.* *πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν προσήκει ὑμῖν τοῦτον εἰσπράξαι μοι τὰ ἀναλώματα*; p. 1227, l. 9. — 116. *πρυτάνων λεγόντων.* The expression is without a parallel, and suggestive of a spurious document. It appears to mean *on the motion of the Prytanes*. — *ποταμοῦ.* According to Winiewski (*Comment.*, p. 63) the river Bocarus in Salamis is intended; but there is nothing to substantiate that view. Newman, with greater probability, suspects that the designation *ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ* is derived, by a blunder, from 216 (*inf.*), where the river meant is certainly the Cephissus, and where there is no allusion to Salamis whatever. — *σκυλευθέντων.* *Stripped of their arms*, which would necessitate fresh supplies in the armory department. Cf. *Lys.*, p. 143, l. 44. — *τοὺς ναυίεσκους.* A strange term for *στρατιῶγας*. WHISTON. — P. 42. *Παναθηναίους.* A time when there would be a great concourse in the city, as in hypoth. 2, *ὅτε πλήθην συντρέχει.* On the Panathenaea and the Dionysia, see Smith, *Dic. Ant.*, s. v. — *γυμνικῶν*, i. e. on the day of the gymnastic contests, which would appear from this to have been the special attraction of the Panathenaea. — *θεσμοθέτας.* The six junior Archons, besides their judicial functions, were ex officio presidents at the Festivals and on similar public occasions. *ἀγνωσθέντας*, 84 (*fin.*). See *Dic. Ant.*, s. vv.

117. THESE PERSONS WERE NOT HELD DISQUALIFIED. THEREFORE I MUST NOT BE. I WAS NOT LIABLE ON ACCOUNT OF MY BENEFACTIONS. I HAVE PASSED THE AUDIT OF MY OFFICE. WHY DID YOU NOT OPPOSE MY PASSING AT THE TIME?

3. *οὐκοῦν*, strictly speaking, is always interrogative, equivalent to *nonne igitur* in Latin, and requiring an affirmative answer. In its practical use, however, the interrogative form disappears, and the particle becomes inferential only, but stronger than the simple *οὐν*. The interrogative force, however, is always present though latent. For instance, the literal translation here would be: Am not I therefore myself also [*οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος*] ? — *ταῦτά γάρ.* *For I have, I presume, the same rights as other people about the same things.* The sarcastic

tone of the platitude is obvious. — 4. τοῖς ἄλλοις, dative after ταῦτά. C. 451; Cu. 436, b; G. 186; H. 603. — ἐπαινοῦμαι. *I receive a vote of thanks*: historical present; and the ὧν which follows is the same. — 4. ὑπεύθυνος, i. e. disqualified by official responsibility from receiving the vote of thanks. The platitude, of course, is again sarcastic. — 6. ἤρχον. *I WAS in office at the time, no doubt.* And so far he admits that he was ὑπεύθυνος. — καὶ δέδωκά γε, *yes, and I have given account for that, not for what I gave as patriotic donations.* — ἐκείνων, as emphatically distinct from ὧν ἐπέδωκα, *sup.*, 112, note on οὐδ' ἄν. He could not, he admits, *qua* officer receive any public vote of thanks; but *qua* benefactor he contends that he could. The argument might be defended in equity, but in law it is certainly no reply to Æschines. The reply should have shown either that the orator had ceased to be ὑπεύθυνος when the vote was proposed, or else that the law made a special exception in favor of benefactors. — 7. νῆ Δί'. *But, forsooth, I did wrong in office. Then why did you not appear to accuse me when the auditors had me up?* νῆ Δία (you will say: at enim:) in its constant ironical use to preface a supposed assertion of the opponent. εἰσάγειν here has its technical sense of the magistrate presiding in court; see Dic. Ant., Δίκη. — 8. λογιστάς. For a full account of these officers, see Smith's excellent article Εὐθύνη, Dic. Ant. The conciseness, vivacity, point, and vigor of this passage are remarkable even in Demosthenes.

118-120. NOW READ THE WHOLE BILL, THAT I MAY PROVE MY OPPONENT'S MALIGNITY BY HIS OMISSIONS AS MUCH AS BY HIS SPECIFICATIONS. HE DWELLS ON THE INIQUITY OF PASSING ME A VOTE OF THANKS, BUT HE QUITE FORGETS TO MENTION WHAT I HAVE DONE TO DESERVE IT.

118. 12. τοῖσι. Dative of the instrument: antecedent to οἷς which is the object of ἐγράψατο but attracted into the case of its antecedent. *By the points of the bill which he did not indict, by these very points, I say, his charges shall be proved calumnious.* The usual construction of the verb συκοφαντεῖν is with an accusative either of the person or of the thing: I can find no instance of it with a dative, and therefore have deviated from the usual translation, which connects τοῖσι with συκοφαντῶν here (*calumnious in those points which he does attack*) as a contrast to ἀ οὐκ above. The dative in this case must be taken as a dative of relation, but the construction will not be so satisfactory. The sense, however, is excellent in either case: cf. ταῦτ' ἐστ' ἃ διώ-

reis, 119. — **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.** Another spurious document. The date of Ctesiphon's psephisma was 337 B. C. Euthycles was not the Archon: for the first six months Chæronidas was in office, then Phrynichus. Again, this document is clearly not *δλον τὸ γραφέν*, for we find in the speech of Æschines, p. 87, that the genuine *προβούλευμα* began with an allusion to *τάφρους* as distinct from *τείχη*. Lastly, the document has no particular connection with what goes before or comes after in the argument. See Böhnecke, Vol. I., p. 581. — **ἐνάτη ἀπὸντος**, the twenty-first. See Calendar in Dic. Antiq. — **προσαναλώσας**. Observe the force of the *πρός*, in addition to the public moneys, thus corresponding with the *ἐπὶ* in *ἐπέδωκε*. — **θεωροῖς**. This is Schäfer's, Jacob's, and Dindorf's accepted emendation. They understand *θεωροί* here to be commissioners who were to superintend the public sacrifices, e. g. the Eleusinia. There is, however, no authority for the existence of such an office at Athens. There is an equally ingenious interpretation of the MS. reading *θεωρικοῖς* — *the theatrical funds of all the tribes* — assuming that each tribe had a separate fund for this purpose, and that Demosthenes gave 100 minæ to each. Considering that the whole document is spurious, it is a matter of surprise that so much ingenuity should have been lavished upon this single word. — **ἀρετῆς κ. τ. λ.** *Sup.*, 54 note. — 119. P. 48, l. 5. **παρὰ νόμων γράφει**, you indict for illegality. *παρὰ νόμων* genitive of the crime; *γράφει*, middle voice to express the act of the prosecutor in getting the name of the defendant entered (written) by the magistrate. — 7. **ποῖός τις**. *In heaven's name what would be the ideal of an utter villain, God-detested and calumnious thoroughly?* *ὅπως* qualifies the whole sentence, whether we take it with the three epithets or with the verb. *πρός θεῶν* is only used in questions, adjurations, and entreaties; never to strengthen an affirmative oath or assertion. — 120. 8. **θεάτρῳ**. The peculiar honor of this proclamation in the theatre has been already discussed at 83. As regards the number of times (*μυριάκις...πολλάκις*) besides rhetorical hyperbole, there is also another explanation. We learn from Æschines (pp. 58 sq.) that these proclamations in the theatre in the first instance were made without requiring the sanction of any law whatever: that they then became so frequent as to be a positive nuisance: that their publicity made them to be regarded erroneously as a greater honor than the legally sanctioned proclamations in the Boule or Ecclesia: that on this account the Dionysiac law (83) was ultimately passed to limit them. We

may well suppose that the orator refers to the period before the Dionysiac law when he talks of *μυριάκις* and *πολλάκις*, as well as referring to the period after the Dionysiac law was passed when the occasions would naturally be more rare. — 12. *οὐ δύνασθαι*. There is another reading *οὐ δύνασθαι*, which would be the same in translation, and but slightly different in meaning. When *ὥστε* is followed by the indicative mood the consequence is described as a certain fact, either in the present or in the past, *coincident in time* with the tense of the verb on which the consecutive sentence depends (33, *μυθοῦνται*): when *ὥστε* is followed by the infinitive, the consequence is described as a probable result, *future in time* to the tense of the verb on which the consecutive sentence depends. The former construction is a strong and indisputable assertion; the latter is less strong and less indisputable. Supposing the consequence to be of a negative shape, that negative in the stronger construction will always, of course, be *οὐ*, in the weaker construction it will usually be the weaker negative, *μή*. But if the result is future in time, yet also certain in fact, the two constructions are so far fused that the mood is the infinitive on account of the futurity, and the negative is *οὐ* on account of the certainty. Two examples may be cited at once:—

- (1) *οὐ μακρὰν γὰρ τεχνῶν περιπτύχαι
ὥστ' οὐχ ἅπαντά σ' εἶδέναι τὰ δρώμενα.*
EURIP., *Phœn.*, 1357, 8.

Here the knowledge obtained was future to the time when the walls were built, and yet certain, for Creon possessed it.

- (2) *ὥστ' οὐτε νυκτὸς ὕπνον οὐτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας
ἐμὲ στεγάξεν ἡδύν.*
SOPH., *Elect.*, 780, 1.

Here the consequence was future to the threat and yet experience had made it a certainty to Clytemnestra. See, however, Mr. Shilleto's admirable note (*de F. L.*, p. 203), and Whiston's note on this passage. C. 671; Cu. 565, 617; G. 266; H. 770, 771. The force of *τὰ οὐ καλὰ* compared with *τὰ μὴ καλὰ* is somewhat analogous. — 13. *τὸν αὐτὸν [ἄ]λον*. This answers Æschines' remark p. 60, *ἀπειτῇ μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐραρίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῇ φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται*. Demosthenes contends that the greater publicity enhances the benefit, not to the man who receives the

crown, but to those who confer it or see it conferred. — **NOMOS**. Clearly not a genuine document. It does not correspond with the account of the Dionysiac law given by Æschines (p. 58 sq.), nor with the words of Demosthenes in the next section (πλήρ...ψηφίσθαι), which are obviously a verbal citation. Nor would it at all strengthen the orator's argument here, but quite the contrary. Judging from the two conflicting orations, the law must have run in substance thus: "No crowns are to be proclaimed in the theatre, except the Demos or the Boule sanction them by a special decree. And these crowns let the herald proclaim." Æschines interprets the word "crowns" in this law as limited to *ξενικοὶ στεφανοί* absolutely (*εἰ γὰρ σὲ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοί*). Demosthenes interprets the word as including any and every species of "crown." He cites *usage* in confirmation of his view. Æschines cites *law* (the other law about crowns) in confirmation of his. So far as the law goes Æschines seems to be right; but his interpretation could not have been familiar to his audience, or else he would not have required to enforce it with such prolixity (p. 58 sq.). So far as usage went Demosthenes must have been right, or else his audience would never have tolerated his saying what he does. No doubt both interpretations of the Dionysiac law were possible; one was elaborate and strict, the other familiar and lax. There is no need, so far as I can see, to impute insincerity to either view: but in this I differ from former editors. — 121. P. 44, l. 3. *ἀναγορευέτω*, i. e. *ὁ κήρυξ*. Reiske however supplies *ἡ βουλὴ* or *ὁ δῆμος*. Surely the act of proclamation could not be attributed to the corporate body. — *ἐλληβορίζεω*. *Take a course of hellebore*; the supposed cure for madness. Cf. Horace, 2 *Sat.*, iii, 82, 3; 166. *De A. P.*, 300. — *φθόνου*, gen. of motive; *ἀδικήματος*, of crime. So in English the relation in both may be expressed by *for*. — 8. *ὁμομοκόσι*. On the oath of the Dicasts see 6, note *οὐ μόνον*; and 2, *τὸν ὄρκον*. — 122. 10. *δημοτικῶς*. *Patriot*. This is in answer to the passage in Æschines, p. 77, where he draws the picture of the ideal "demotic," attributing five qualities as essential; to be (1) free born, (2) of patriotic family, (3) of high morality, (4) able and eloquent, (5) courageous. The "oligarch," he says, is the antipodes to this; and it is needless to say under which head he classes Demosthenes. — 11. *ἐκδεδοκῆς*. *Given out: quasi locavisses faciendum*: cf. p. 522, l. 1. — *κατὰ συγγραφὴν*. *To be made by contract*. Dissen cites p. 916, *καὶ οἷδε μὲν πρὸς σε δύο συγγραφὰς ἐποιήσαντο ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμβολαίου*. The

συγγραφή was always in writing, the συμβόλαιον might or might not be. — εἰς...κομίζομενος, and then had it delivered to you deficient in what it ought to have had under the contract. WHISTON. — 14. γινωσκομένους. Or as if patriots were known by their words, and not by their deeds and measures. ὥσπερ...γινωσκομένους=tanquam noscerentur; on the construction of this acc. absol. see Madvig, *G. S.*, 82. — 15. ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρητα. With promiscuous scurrility. A phrase as common as *dicenda tacenda* in Latin. More exactly rendered by Whiston, *you shout, and call me all sorts of names mentionable and unmentionable*. — ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης. As if you were on the top of a wagon taking part in the riot of the χόες, the second day of the Anthesteria. See Dic. Ant. Dionysia. Cf. Aristoph., *Ran.*, 416 sq. *Equit.*, 544. πομπέας, *sup.*, 11 note. *Billinggate*, as the Londoners would say., KENNEDY. — 16. καίτοι καὶ τότῳ, sc. ἐνθυμητέον. The same phrase is found p. 43, l. 15; p. 442, l. 7; p. 568, l. 12. So ἐρεὶ κακείνῳ, p. 1097, l. 5, etc. — 123. 19. ἔχων. Implies wrongs (really received by the person who brings the accusation, and who is merely seeking for legal redress). — 20. βλασφημίας. Slanders which enemies come to speak of one another as their own spirit dictates (although no wrong has really been inflicted, and there is no claim for redress at law). All the editors quote in illustration the notorious passage from Cicero *pro Cael.*, c. 3: aliud est maledicere, aliud accusare, etc. — 23. οὐχ ἵνα. Not that we might get you together in court (εἰς ταῦτα, sc. δικαστήρια), and then abuse one another with abominations in the way of private scandal, ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων: ex vita privata. Dissen, who cites aptly p. 1335, λοιδορουμένων καὶ πλόνοντας αὐτοὺς τὰ πόρρητα. The phrase κακῶς λέγειν is exactly Cicero's maledicere. — 124. 27. πομπέειν. To blackguard. Cf. πομπέας 11. The Greek requires a colloquial equivalent here. — P. 45, l. 1. Παττον, sc. τῶν λοιδοριῶν. ἐνταῦθα is equivalent to ἐπὶ τῆς πομπέας. And yet not even here (sc. in blackguarding) is it right for him to come off with less, sc. than he gave. δικάως ἔστω, personal construction for impersonal. C. 573; Cu. 571; H. 777. — 5. δηλονότι, C. 717; Cu. 633; H. 868. — οὐ μὲν...οὐδέ, where...but where, C. 433 c.; H. 590. — 6. ἐπὶ τοῦτον. Pro civibus Atheniensibus, according to Reiske, who understands ἡδίκουν to have for its object the same τοῦτους. Possibly, however, τοῦτων is neuter and ἡδίκουν absolute: τοῦτων in that case would refer to all the offences which Æschines in his speech had imputed to the orator. The ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν below is in favor of Reiske's view. — 125. 8. ἀθῶτος ἀπαντα. Scathless on every

ground; that of law, that of time, that of limitation, that of constant previous awards, that of my never having yet been convicted of doing you a single wrong; the protasis goes on to τῆς δόξης, the δ' after τῇ πόλει answering the μέν after ἐγώ, where I, on the one hand, am scathless, ... while the city, on the other, must needs share more or less in the glory of my public acts, there you have met me face to face. To oppose Demosthenes on this ground was to arraign the character and conduct of the people, who had not only adopted his policy but shared in the honor of it. Herein lay the strength of Demosthenes in all this trial. On ἀπίστηκας, see 15 note s. v.; and on πρὸς σμίκ see s. v. Dic. Ant. — 9. κεκρίσθαι. Dissem understands this as referring to the prosecutions conducted by Diondas against the psephisms of Aristonicus and Hyperides, by Patrocles against the trierarchic law of Demosthenes, etc., etc. Cf. pp. 302, 628.

126-131. HAVING THUS REFUTED HIS ACCUSATIONS ON THE LEGAL AND TECHNICAL POINTS, I PROCEED NOW TO RETALIATE HIS PERSONALITIES. LET ME GIVE A BRIEF SKETCH OF HIS PARENTAGE AND OF HIS BREEDING.

126. 15. εὐσεβής refers, as before, to the oath taken by the Dicasts, 1 δ' ἀπ' (end). — 16. δέδεικται, i. e. I have shown you all distinctly what your verdict should be as regards the charges of illegality brought by my opponent against Ctesiphon. δεικνύναι here, as before, means to exhibit rather than to prove, 4 κἀν μέν. A different interpretation has, however, been suggested, assuming that a burst of applause had followed the preceding sentence, and that the orator is pleased to estimate it as a clear indication of the coming verdict. No doubt it would have been easy for the orator to provide this burst of applause as at 52. But we should certainly in that case have found him taking far greater advantage of it and expressing himself with a more clear construction. — 17. βλασφημία. This word, according to strict syntax, would follow instead of preceding εἰρημένας. Similar inversions are noticed by Schäfer, p. 323, l. 13; p. 329, l. 29; p. 347, l. 28; p. 361, l. 25, etc. They may be ascribed merely to the taste of rhetorical euphony, the sense remaining unaffected. — 19. τὰναγκαίωτα'. The barest facts: the minimum sufficient for the absolute exigencies of the situation: just what is absolutely necessary. WHISTON. — 20. καὶ τίνων, and of what parentage. C. 412; Cu. 409. — 21. λόγους τίνας, certain expressions. Æschin., p. 77, οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μαρὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἀ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ σιδήρεοι ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; κ. τ. λ.

The whole passage in *Æschines* is well worth perusal. He derides the extravagance of the orator's language in having used such phrases as ἀμπελουργοῖσι τὴν πόλιν—ἀνατεμῆκας τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου—φορμογραφούμεθα, and the like. — **διαστρέφα**. *Sup.*, 27, **διόστρε** — αὐτὸς εἰρηκώς, although he has himself said. The participle is circumstantial. — 22. **φθίγασθαι**. Here the protasis ends without any apodosis, which, as Hermogenes rightly interprets, is intended to mark indignation. — 127. 23. **Αἰακός... Μίνως**. Judges in the lower world (see Plato's *Gorgias*, 524), and so models of dignity and integrity. — 24. **σπερμολόγος**. Schäfer cites Eustathius (*Hom.*, *Od.*, p. 1547, 41) ὁ δὲ κυρίως φασί, σπερμολόγος εἶδός ἐστιν ὁρτέου λωβώμενον τὰ σπέρματα (*Aristoph.*, *Av.*, 232) ἐξ οὗ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ σπερμολόγους ἐκάλουν τοὺς περὶ τὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας, διὰ τὸ ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν φορτίων ἀναρρέοντα καὶ διαστρέφειν. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλάγχχανον κλήσιν καὶ οὐδέποτε λόγου ἔξω. We may translate *babbler*, i. e. a retailer of second-hand and second-rate information. So in the notorious passage, *Act. Apost.*, xvii. 18. — **περίτρυμμα**. The etymology of this substantive suggests at once its twofold meaning: "something thoroughly rubbed in contact" would suggest either "conversant," "expert," etc., or "trite," "worn out," etc. *Aristophanes* (*Nub.*, 447) clearly intends *περίτρυμμα* *δικῶν* as a compliment. The orator here as clearly intends the opposite. In either case we have no English equivalent and are reduced to paraphrase. Whiston translates, *a drudge of the forum*; Kennedy, *a hack of the market*. — **δολέσπος**. *A brute of a secretary* or *a wretch of a clerk*. *Æschines* appears to have acted in this capacity to some of the Athenian authorities judging from 261, *γραμματεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδόλοις*. The substantive used as an epithet in lieu of the adjective is not uncommon in Attic. — 26. **ἐπαχθεῖς**, 10, **εἰ δὲ πολλῶ** (*fin.*). — **πρωλοσθαι**. The verb insinuates that the phrases were *far-fetched*. Schäfer cites p. 938 and p. 1392 for similar usage. We may render, *to imagine such offensive expressions*. — 27. **ὦ γῆ, κ. τ. λ.** The citation is almost verbatim from the last paragraph in the speech of *Æschines*, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὦ γῆ καὶ ἡλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδείᾳ ἢ διαγινώσκωμεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀσχηρὰ... Having been taxed by his opponent with using florid language the orator seizes this obvious opportunity for a retort. — 128. P. 46, l. 4. **κάθαρμα**. According to the Scholiasts, in time of public pestilence or other national diaster the vilest members of the state were put to a violent death as scapegoats for the whole community. *Aristoph.*, *Plut.*, 454, *Ran.*, 733,

Eq., 1136, etc. From this the word would naturally become a term of extreme abuse: *You scum of creation*. — 6. ἤς τῶν μὲν. *Of those who have really enjoyed it not a man would use such an expression about himself, but would even blush if any else were to utter it*. Whiston is doubtless right in taking this to refer to the remarks of Æschines, p. 88. — 9. τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσιν. *While to those who, like you, have missed education but affect it, the result is, that whenever they speak they pain their hearers by their brutality, but never appear educated men*. On ἀναισθησίας, see 35, ἀναλγησίας. — 129. 15. Θησαῖον. See Smith's *Dict. Geogr.*, Athens. This beautiful and well-preserved temple is now the national museum of Athens. — 16. διδάσκοντι γράμματα. The school-work of the period consisted in reading, writing, and reciting passages of poetry with explanations. Cf. Plat., *Protag.*, 325 E. In the *F. L.*, p. 419, the father of Æschines is described as himself διδάσκων γράμματα, somewhat inconsistent, though not entirely so, with this passage and that below on p. 313. — 16. χοίνικας. *Leg-irons* (Aristoph., *Plut.*, 276), so called from their resemblance in shape to the standard vessel of dry measure. The Scholiast interprets this as merely an insinuation that Tromes was a worthless slave under perpetual punishment. Dissen compares Plaut., *Capt.*, 3. 5. 64 and 75: *crassas compedes*. — ξύλον. Here apparently of the wooden collar for the neck. Aristoph., *Nub.*, 592, and Plaut., *Capt.*, 2. 2. 107, are cited by Whiston in illustration. Cf. Act. Apost., xv. 24. — 17. μεθημερινοῖς. *By daylight*. Coitus qui sunt imprimis flagitiosi. DINDORF. χρῆσθαι μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις est de die in fornice prostare. REISKE. — 18. κλεισίον. *Hovel*: according to others, *brothel* here. Bekker reads κλισίον and Σ κλεισεῖον. — καλαμίτη. The clew for interpreting this is, no doubt, to be found in the *F. L.*, p. 419, where the father of Æschines is described as keeping school πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἡρώ τοῦ λατροῦ. Ingenious commentators show us how καλαμίτης, *the man of splints*, is a natural synonym in a facetious passage for λατρός. I think, however, they all omit to notice that the orator intends a pun also on the name *Heros* here. He is affecting to invest the early life of Æschines with supernatural influences, and as he alluded to the Theseum just before, so now by way of ridicule he introduces another *hero*. I have, therefore, with Dindorf, retained the small η, though I quite agree with those who believe that the allusion is to Heros the physician. So Holmes. In a paper read before the American Philological Association at Easton, in 1873, Prof. Goodwin ex-

plains the τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἥρωϊ as referring to a Scythian physician, named Toxaris, who came to Athens in the time of Solon, died there and was buried in the Cerameicus, and, his spirit a century later having given the Athenians advice whereby a plague was caused to cease, he was deified and worshipped as the "Stranger Physician." His monument bore on it a representation of a Scythian bowman with a strung bow in one hand and a book in the other. Now καλαμίτης can mean *bowman* (or more exactly *arrow-man*) as κάλαμος very often means an arrow of reed. This monument was a relic of antiquity even in the time of Demosthenes, and he naturally refers to it as marking a well-known locality, which, as recent discoveries show, would have been not far from the Theseum. — τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα. Dissem cites from Bekk., *Anecd.*, p. 394, ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγουσιν αἱ μητέρες περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, ὁ καλὸς ἀνδρίας μου. He also sees an allusion to the fact, that Æschines avoided all gesticulation in speaking (*F. L.*, p. 421). The author of the *Vita Æschinis* describes him as εὐφυνής, "a fine figure of a man." — 19. τριταγωνιστήν. *A tip-top actor of third parts*: see Dict. Ant., *Histrio*. — ἐξέθραψε. To be taken in connection with γαμοῖς...χρωμένη, which denotes the left-handed means by which she reared up her son, the beautiful statue and tip-top actor of third parts. — 21. τριηραύλης has no exact English equivalent, but may be rendered *boatswain* as the nearest. The crew of a trireme rowed to the music of a flute-player who marked the time for them. So Aristophanes mentions αὐλῶν κελευστῶν as a prominent feature of the dock-yard. *Acharn.*, 554. Kennedy translates it *galley-piper*. — 22. ἀνέστησεν. *Raised her out of this honorable trade*. There is a double *entendre* in this sarcasm, depending on the literal meaning of ἀνίστασθαι as contrasted with καθῆσθαι, κατέζεσθαι ἐπ' οἰκήματος, which were euphemisms to describe prostitution. — 23. νῆ τὸν Δία. Here a simple asseveration, not as above, 117. — 130. 27. οὐδὲ γὰρ...καταρᾶται. *For they* (sc. the acts of his life, ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν) *were not of an every-day sort, but such as the nation execrates*. This sentence in Σ precedes the sentence ταῦτα μὲν οὖν...ἀρξομαι, and in that reading the subject of ἦν would be Æschines and the antecedent of οἷς his parents: *he was not the son of every-day persons, but, etc.* So Schäfer and Jacobs. The arrangement of my text is the same with Dindorf's, and is approved by quite the majority of editors. Indeed the context alone is enough to settle the question. — P. 47, l. 1. ὀψέ, κ. τ. λ. *For it is quite lately, — lately do I say? — nay it is yesterday only or the day before*

that he has become at once an Athenian and an orator. A good instance of the corrective *μὲν οὖν* (*immo vero*). *Æsch.*, *Eum.*, 38 ; *Eurip.*, *Hipp.*, 1009 ; *Plat.*, *Gorg.*, 466. — 8. *ὄνο συλλαβὰς*. Referring only to the change of the name Tromes into Atrometus, of which the former was a fit name for a coward (*τρέμω*) and a slave, while the latter was suggestive of an intrepid freeman. — 5. *Ἐμπουσαν*. As a nickname no doubt. Cf. *Aristoph.*, *Ranæ*, 289, where the Scholiasts explain that it was the title of a malignant goblin. In the *F. L.*, p. 256, *Æschines* speaks of his mother's brother as Glaucus, whence it has been fairly inferred that his mother's real name was Glaucis. — 6. *πάντα*. Incessant changing of shape and figure is alleged by the Scholiast as the distinctive quality of the goblin Empusa. The coarse double *entendre* here is sufficiently obvious from what has preceded. — 131. 9. *ἐκ*. Instead of: as coming out of one state into the other. The idiom is very common. *Soph.*, *O. T.*, 454, *Antig.*, 1093, etc. — 10. *οὐχ ὅπως*. Not only not. The idiom involves an ellipsis of *λέγω*. Fully stated it would mean, "I do not mention your showing gratitude : that would be absurd to expect in your case though it would be merely natural in any one else." Our own idiom "not to speak of" is often similarly used. Analogous are the uses of *μὴ δτι* and *οὐχ δτι*. For examples see *Madv.*, *G. S.*, 212 ; *C.* 717, g ; *Cu.* 622, 4 ; *H.* 848, c. — 13. *ἀρα*. It seems (i. e. in *Æschines*' representation): ironical, as in 22. — 15. *πράττων*. In strong antithesis to the *ἐλθῃκεν* which immediately precedes.

132-134. AS A SPECIMEN OF THE ATROCIOUS CONDUCT OF *ÆSCHINES* LET US TAKE THE CASE OF ANTIPHON. HE WAS ARRESTED BY ME AS A TRAITOR, BUT NEARLY ESCAPED PENALTY THROUGH THE INTRIGUES OF MY OPPONENT. AND FOR THIS THE *AREOPAGUS* CANCELLED THE LATTER'S APPOINTMENT AS ADVOCATE OF ATHENS BEFORE THE AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL, REGARDING HIM AS A TRAITOR.

132. 16. *Ἀντιφῶντα*. The case is mentioned by *Plutarch* (*Vit. Demosth.*, 14) and by *Dinarchus* (*c. Demosth.*, p. 98, l. 25). The latter deploras Antiphon as a victim. The facts seem to have been as follows. Antiphon had been disfranchised, for some reason not recorded. In revenge he attempted to betray his country to Philip, and conspired with him in a design of burning the Athenian fleet. The date, according to *Dissen's* calculation, would be shortly after the *διαψήφισις* held in the year 346. *Demosthenes* denounced Antiphon before the *Ecclesia*, who, however, acquitted him. *Demosthenes* then

brought him before the Areopagus, who had the right to take extraordinary cognizance of extreme cases where the safety of the state was involved. They condemned Antiphon; but their sentence (*ἀπόφασις*) would then require to be formally approved by the Boule and Ecclesia. After this Antiphon would be tried once more before the Heliea. We know that the result was his torture and execution. He appears to have been one of the family of Harmodius according to Dinarchus (*l. c.*), but we know nothing more of his history. He is not to be confounded with Antiphon, one of the ten Attic orators. — *ἀποψηφισθέντα* = struck off the register of voters: see Smith, Dic. Ant., *διαψήφισις*. — 21. *ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ*. Plutarch himself describes this proceeding of Demosthenes as *σφόδρα ἀριστοκρατικόν*. — 22. *ψηφισματος*. Warrant, to be granted by a vote of the Ecclesia. The orator seems to have acted so far illegally that he arrested Antiphon in his own house, although he was not justified in doing so either by official position or sanction of the people. — 133. 24. *Ἀπελόν*. Smith, Dic. Ant., Areiopagus. — 25. *οὐ δέοντι*. Another instance of meiosis: *anything but opportunely*. The absence of the article gives additional strength to the phrase, and is the more appropriate for an antithesis to *ἐν δέοντι*. — *ἐπεζητήσα*. Made further inquiry: the force of *ἐπὶ* in composition is here strongly marked. — 27. *ἔξήρασαν' ἄν*. Such a traitor as this would have been snatched out of your grasp, and having slipped through the clutches of penalty would have been despatched to freedom by this master of imposing eloquence. — P. 48, l. 2. *στρεβλάσαντες*. The *στρέβλη* seems to have corresponded exactly to the rack of our own semi-barbarous ages. A list of modes of torture in which this is included will be found in the notorious passage, Aristoph., *Ran.*, 620 sq. Some discussion has been raised as to how a free Athenian could have been put to the torture at all! There are two obvious answers: (1) Antiphon as *ἀποψηφισθείς* was no longer a free Athenian; (2) The rack was applied, not for his examination under torture, but for this execution under sentence. See Smith, Dic. Ant., sub. *βάσανος*. — *νῦν* = as it was. — 3. *γε* intensifies the bitterness of the taunt: as you OUGHT to have done to this creature likewise, sc. so far at least as your duty and his deserts were concerned. — 134. 5. *σύνδικον*. Advocate: i. e. they retained him to plead their case before the Amphictyonic Council. His appointment, however, was afterwards cancelled, as we see, by the Areopagus, on suspicion of his sympathies with Macedon, which naturally, on this as on other

occasions, was opposed to the Athenian interests. Hyperides was anti-Macedonian in his politics. — 6. τοῦ ἐν Δῶλει. The question at issue, which had been already long disputed, was whether the Athenians or the Delians were entitled to have the custody of the temple of Apollo at Delos: the date of the case being tried before the Amphictyonic Council was 345. — ἥσπερ. By attraction to ἀγροίας instead of the dative, which would be the natural construction. There is a various reading ἀφ' ἥσπερ but only in a small minority of the MSS. — 7. προσελεσθε. This is Wolf's emendation, adopted by Dindorf, in place of προελεσθε MSS. Schäfer approves it as especially consistent with the καὶ in κἀκεῖνην. Translate, *associated to you that body in addition*, i. e. requested the Areopagus to co-operate in their deliberations with the Boule and the Ecclesia, giving them absolute power over the decision to be formed. Those who read προελεσθε interpret it ἐλεσθε πρὸ ὑμῶν, i. e. *delegated to act for you*. No other instance can be cited of the verb being thus used, but certainly it is a possible interpretation. — 10. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. *Tendering their vote from the altar*, i. e. advancing to vote immediately after having taken an oath with the fullest solemnity. Taylor cites p. 1265, l. 6, πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἀγοντες καὶ ἐξορκίζοντες. Cic., *pro Balb.*, 5: ut mos Græcorum est, iurandi causâ ad aras accederet. — 11. οὐδεμία. The extreme solemnity of the occasion has been mentioned as enhancing the effect of this public censure on Æschines. — 135. ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. Another spurious document according to Droysen and Winiewski, but defended, as usual, by Vömel. The question is not worth discussing. But we may notice as irregular the absence, in each case, of the name of the witness's father; the phrase ὑπὲρ πάντων which appears so redundant and superfluous; and the absence of any details about the voting on which the orator has so strongly insisted in 134. — 14. λέγοντος. Σ has μέλλοντος, which would much improve the sense, an ellipsis of λέγειν being easy: b has μέλλοντος λέγειν and adds αὐτὸν after ἀπῆλθεν. I believe, however, that Dindorf's text is the most correct, and we must take λέγοντος as imperfect, *when he was going to speak*.

136. TAKE ANOTHER INSTANCE OF MY OPPONENT'S POLITICAL CONDUCT IN CONTRAST WITH MINE. WHEN PYTHON AT THE CONVENTION WAS VITUPERATING ATHENS, I DENOUNCED AND CRUSHED HIM, ÆSCHINES AIDED AND ABETTED HIM.

18. νεανίου. Æschines was 45 in the year referred to (345).

Clearly there is no allusion here to age but only to character. The same sense of violence or extravagance is constantly found in *παρὰ τὸ εὖ* and *παρὰ τὸν*, of which the Lexica give abundant examples. We may here render *this gallant fellow* as spoken in irony. *γε* is also ironical. — 19. *ἔρα*. Either just before Chæroneia (Diodor., XVI., 85) or in the year 344 (p. 81, l. 23). The latter view is supported by Winiewski. We know nothing about the facts except from this passage and that in the *De Halonneso* (p. 81, l. c.). That Python was a famous orator is attested by Demosthenes, p. 1469, l. 18, and Æschines, p. 44, l. 35. — P. 49, l. 1. *ἐν ἀλοχύνῃ*. To plunge in disgrace. The phrase is exceptional, as Schäfer notices. — 3. *θρασύμηνον*. Bragging and bursting full upon you. Colloquial phraseology. *παῖς* of eloquence is very common. Aristoph., *Eq.*, 527, etc.; Juvenal, X., 128: *torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri*. Dissen also cites Hor., 1 *Sat.*, II., 28.

137. ANOTHER INSTANCE. ÆSCHINES WAS CAUGHT CONFERRING WITH THAT NOTORIOUS SPY OF PHILIP'S, ANAXINUS.

11. *Ἀναξίμπης*. A native of Oreus in Eubœa, who came to Athens in 341 ostensibly to make some purchases for Philip's Queen Olympias (Æschin., p. 85). At this date the Athenians were contemplating the liberation of Eubœa and a despatch of forces to assist the Hellespont. Anaxinus was, rightly or wrongly, denounced and executed as a spy for these proceedings (l. c.). Æschines especially taunts the orator with having caused the death of a man who had been his host in Eubœa. — *κατασκόπῃ*. We have here, of course, a brilliant *petitio principii*. Whether Anaxinus was a spy or not, history has left uncertain. But the argument *noscitur a sociis* falls through in the other event, and therefore the orator promptly assumes that he was. — **MAPTYPΕΣ**. Another spurious document. The witnesses are mentioned without the address of their several demes. No one of the name of Nicias is found in the list of Archons at or near this year (341). — *ἐμπόσαντο*, *swore to it before the generals*.

138. I COULD ADD MUCH MORE TO THE SAME EFFECT. BUT YOU NEVER FEEL THESE THINGS AS YOU OUGHT.

18. *οὕτω πως*, somewhat as follows. Accordingly the following clause is without a connective as being explanatory. *ὧν* would regularly be acc. = in respect to which, but is in the gen. by attraction. — P. 50, l. 3. *τίθεται*. Stored, deposited, laid on record, a financial expression in the first instance, p. 1236 (*fin.*), p. 186, l. 10, etc. *Scored*

up is the closest rendering here. — 4. οὐδ' ἦν... ὀργήν, *nor for proper resentment*, acc. after *els.* — δεδῶκατε. *You have, through a vile custom, given vast license to any one who wishes to trip and slander him who speaks for any of your interests.* In ὑποσκελίζειν we have another wrestling metaphor. — 8. ἀνταλλαττόμενοι. *Bartering for.* The sentiment has been already illustrated in 3, note ἕτερον δέ. — 11. τάξιν. Cf. 13. τάξα, note.

139. BEFORE THE DECLARATION OF WAR ÆSCHINES DID HIS BEST TO HELP PHILIP; AND AFTER THE WAR BEGAN HE NEVER PROPOSED A SINGLE MEASURE FOR THE GOOD OF ATHENS.

12. μὲν δὲ. The sense of these two particles combined is usually to dismiss a consideration; cf. the notorious phrase τοιαῦτα μὲν δὲ ταῦτα. The δὲ in itself implies so strong an assertion of the protasis that no further question can possibly be raised about that, whatever may be said about something else. The μὲν paves the way for the introduction of that something else, if necessary, in the apodosis. But no apodosis is absolutely required. For examples see Soph., *El.*, 103; Platon., *Polit.*, 287, *Prot.*, 315. — 16. τὰ πλοῖα. *Sup.*, 78, καὶ μὴν. — Χερρόνησος. *Sup.*, 92, Χερρονησιτῶν. — 17. Ἀττικῇν. The reference is here to the seizure of Elatea in 339 (the autumn) when Philip was appointed by the Amphictyonic Council to command the forces attacking Locris. The excitement caused at Athens by this seizure of Elatea we read 169 sq. — 18. ἐνιστήκα. 89, ἐνστάς, note. — 20. ἰαμβιοφάγος. The Scholiasts interpret this φιλολοῖδορος, and so we find in the *Etym. M.*, s. v. Ἰαμβιοφάγος, the Iambic verse being the distinctive metre of lampoon: Ἰαμβλίζειν γὰρ τὸ σκώπτειν ἐστίν. But surely we must also understand an allusion here to that already threadbare topic, the histrionic profession of Æschines. Of course the *double entendre* cannot be preserved by any English. Whiston's rendering, *mouther of iambs*, is as good as any. — 22. δεξάτω, i. e. I will sacrifice part of the time allowed me for speaking, to give him the opportunity, if he can take it, forsooth. — 23. ὕδατι. ἐγγεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδαρ τῷ κατηγορῶν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὕδαρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν. Æsch., 82. A description of the clepsydra, by which the time allowed to each speaker was measured, is given in Smith's Dic. Ant. Whiston alludes, in this connection, to the joke at the sobriety of Demosthenes, viz., that other men *spoke* by water, he *composed* by it. — 24. θάτερον. An obvious ellipsis of ποιῆσαι, or, better, αἰρεῖσθαι.

The construction is very common: p. 113, l. 10. Platon., *Charm.*, 160 c. With an impersonal subject the ellipsis would be of *γενέσθαι*. — ἢ μήτιν κ. τ. λ. *That either he proposed no measures conflicting with mine because he could find no fault in what I was then doing, or else that he did not bring forward better measures than mine because he was studying the interest of the enemy.* The participial sentences are causal. Madvig, *G. S.*, 174, b; C. 674; Cu. 581; G. 277, 2; H. 789; the force of *παρά* is here decidedly *against*: not simply *beside* but *beside, with the object of contesting and obstructing*. — 27. *φέρειν εἰς μέτρον* (*proferre in medium*), as usual, is merely the technical phrase for publication.

140, 141. IF HE FRAMED NO POLICY, DID HE AT ANY RATE HOLD HIS TONGUE WHEN MISCHIEF WAS IN THE WIND? NAY, HE MONOPOLIZED THE BEMA. REMEMBER THAT MONSTROUS CASE OF THE AMPHISSIAN LOCRIANS. I MOST SOLEMNLY SWEAR TO TELL YOU THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT IT.

140. P. 51, l. 1. 'Αρ' οὖν. *Did he then make no speeches either (as he certainly moved no measures) when it was needful to do some mischief?* The point is this: no single peepism of *Æschines'* proposing can be found in the records of the war period (139); but he made plenty of speeches, — and he always spoke with a mischievous intent. Reiske and Schäfer are both anxious to limit the clause *ὥσπερ — ἔγραφεν* by understanding either *τότε* or *ἤλικα ἐργάσασθαι τι εἶδει καλόν*. But they thus ignore the obvious antithesis of *ἔγραφεν* to *ἔλεγεν*. He moved nothing, but he said plenty; and all that he said was bad. — 2. οὐ μὲν οὖν. *Nay, no one else had a chance of speaking*, i. e. he let no one else get a hearing. — 3. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα. *Other things the state could bear, as it seems, and this man could do without detection.* C. 677, f; Cu. 590; G. 279, 2; H. 801. — 6. τέλος, *finishing stroke*. — 8. δόγματα, i. e. the decrees passed by the Amphictyonic Council respecting these Locrians of Amphisia. Schäfer compares *Μαγαρέων ψήφισμα*, "the vote concerning the Magarians": Thucyd., I., 140. — 8. τό has here its original force of a distinctive pronoun. See Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, 148, and note *ἀς μὲν*, 71 *sup.* — 9. ἐκνίψω. *Wash out*, strictly of the hands. The middle voice here denotes action on self. On the metaphor, which is frequent and familiar, particularly in dramatic literature, ancient and modern, cf. Eur., *I. T.*, 1223, *ὡς φόνω φόνον μόσαρον ἐκνίψω*. — 10. οὐχ οὕτω. *You will not talk enough for THAT*, however prominent and prolix you may show yourself as a speaker. The emphasis falls on *οὕτω*. — 141. 11. Καλῶ. This passage may

well be compared with the exordium. He justifies the solemnity of the language in the next paragraph. — 13. *πατὴρ*. *Father-god*, and hence tutelary divinity. Apollo, according to Athenian mythology, was the father of Ion by Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens, and wife of Xuthus. Ion succeeded to the throne. (Eurip., *Ion*, 1574, etc.) Hence the Athenians had *πατὴρ* *θεοῖ* at Delphi. All the Ionian states seem to have worshipped the Pythian Apollo as their *θεὸς πατὴρ*. See Müller, *Dor.*, I., p. 244. — 15. *εἰποιμι καὶ ἄρον*, if I shall speak the truth and did speak it then immediately.

142–144. WHY HAVE I MADE THESE SOLEMN ASSEVERATIONS? BECAUSE, WHATEVER STRONG PROOF I ADDUCE, YOU WILL HARDLY BELIEVE ÆSCHINES HAD THE POWER TO DO SUCH MISCHIEF. JUST WHAT HAPPENED IN THE PHOCIAN CASE. I WARNED THE ECCLESIA AND THEY WOULD NOT BELIEVE ME.

142. 23. *ἔχων*. Concessive: and so *εἰδώς* which follows. Madvig's *G. S.*, 174 b; C. 674, f; Cu. 582; G. 277, 5; H. 789, f. — *δημοσίᾳ*. *The Archives*: the word describes any public building: its character is settled here by the context. Herod., VI., 52, 57. — 26. *ἁλάντων*. Minor quam ut conficeret: *incapable of*; literally *less than the mischief*, i. e. unequal to such a magnitude of mischief. Cf. the analogous use of *μείζους* in the *F. L.*, p. 350 (*init.*). — P. 52, l. 1. *Φωκίας*, 18, and *Introduction* II. — 143. 2. *Ἀμφίσση*. This city belonged to the Locri Ozolæ and stood on the Phocian frontier. Ingenious Scholiasts have noticed that the words *τὸν γὰρ... Ἐλάττειαν* make a hexameter. — 3. *Ἐλάττειαν*. Metropolis of Phocis on the frontier of Epicnemidian Locris. — 6. *εἰς ἀνὴρ*. *Was the author in his single self of the greatest disasters*. The common use of *εἰς* as an intensive in connection with a superlative. Cf. Soph., *Trach.*, 459, *οὐχὶ χείτερας | πλείστας ἀνὴρ εἰς Ἡρακλῆς ἐγγυε δὴ*; — 6. *τότ'*, i. e. when Æschines had just come back from acting as deputy at the Amphictyonic Council, who had declared war on the Amphissians at his instigation. We must compare throughout Æschines' own account of this (p. 71 sq.). — 9. *ἐκ παρακλήσεως*. Dissen aptly remarks that the name *παρακλητοί* was given to the party of friends who would rally round an accused person, or a person in any critical position, the Latin *advocati*. Cf. the use of the word in the New Testament, rendered in the common version sometimes Advocate, and sometimes Comforter. We may paraphrase here: *his clique who were seduced by him*. — 10. *οἱ δὲ* = *the rest*. — 144. 15. *ἐκαλύθη*. But so-

according to *Æschines* (l. c.), Demosthenes *did* impress his views on the meeting, and it was owing to him that the Athenians dissented from the Amphictyonic policy instead of joining the attack upon the Amphiſſians. — 15. εἰ...συντρέβειν. εἰ passim seiungitur a voce ad quam pertinet. See Heind. at Platon., *Charmid.*, p. 111 (Schäfer). — 17. δαρότης. *Craft*: calliditas (Schäfer).

145-159. FOR PHILIP'S PLANS IT WAS INDISPENSABLE TO CREATE HOSTILITIES AGAINST US ON THE PART OF THEBES AND THESSALY. HENCE HIS INTRIGUE IN THE AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL, WHICH LED TO THE SACRED WAR, AND FOR WHICH HE EMPLOYED *ÆSCHINES* AS AN INSTRUMENT. THE ACCOUNT *ÆSCHINES* GAVE YOU IS FALSE. THE ATTACK ON THE LOCRIANS WAS UNPROVOKED. PHILIP'S APPOINTMENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF WAS ACHIEVED BY THE MEAN PARSIMONY OF THE AMPHICTYONS WHO WISHED TO ESCAPE THE EXPENSES OF THE WAR. DIRECTLY HE WAS APPOINTED HE DROPPED THE LOCRIAN BUSINESS AND SEIZED ELATEA. LISTEN TO THE DOCUMENTS WHICH PROVE WHAT I SAY. FOR ALL OUR SUFFERINGS *ÆSCHINES*, AS A TOOL OF PHILIP, IS DISTINCTLY RESPONSIBLE AND TO BLAME.

145. 24. ἀπορῶν. *Guerillas*. The orator wishes to deny the regular army any share in such successes as were won (146). The chief damage done to Macedon, he alleges, was the interference with their commerce by these irregular marauders. — 25. ἐκ τῆς χώρας. By constructio prægnaſ for οὐτε γὰρ ἐξήγγετο τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γιγνομένων ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδέν. C. 704; H. 680. — 146. P. 53, l. 1. μήτε διύκνουν. If they did not allow him a passage through their territory. The negative (μή) has its usual force with a participle, of introducing a conditional clause. — 2. κρατοῦντι. Concessive: cf. 142. κρατεῖν with the accusative = to conquer: with the genitive = to conquer and hold. The accusative is that of relation, not of the direct object. Madv., 31; C. 480, b; Cu. 400, c; G. 159; H. 544, a. Though victorious in war over the generals you were in the habit of sending out, of whatsoever sort they were (for I pass this), it was his fortune to suffer losses from the very nature of the locality and the circumstances of each party. — 4. φύσει τοῦ τόπου. Disſen compares *Philipp.*, l. 48 (p. 93), τόπον τῆς χώρας. He could not attack them by land because Thebes and Thessaly obstructed his approach; and he could not attack them by sea because their navy was superior. — ἐν ἀρχόντων ἐκατέρους. Macedon was strong in land forces, Athens in maritime: but the land forces were useless, as has been

just explained : so that Athens had the advantage in point of armament in the aggregate. — 147. 6. *συμπελθεῖν*. *Induce to join him*. Hence the element *συμ-* is introduced. There is a mixture of moods in this conditional construction which may thus be preserved in English : *His idea was that, were he to try and induce either Thebes or Thebes to join him in attacking you, no one would listen to him ; but supposing him elected commander as having taken up their common grievances, then his expectation was that he would, with comparative ease, deceive them partly and partly persuade them*. The imperfect optative *συμπελθεῖν* introduces the more improbable alternative (*si persuaderet*), the aorist subjunctive *απεθῇ* states the very condition which was actually fulfilled afterwards (*si electus fuerit*) : the imperfects *ἤγειρο*, *ἤλπιζε* suggest the duration and deliberate character of Philip's plans. — 11. *Ἀμφικτύοσι*. *For the Amphictyons*. Dativus commodi precisely. — 12. *ταραχὴν*. *A disturbance at the Pylæa*. The meeting of the Council was called *Πυλαία* from the place of meeting, Thermopylæ ; so also the members were called *Πυλαγοῖ*. See Dic. Ant., Amphictyons. *περὶ* here is of time and place both. — 12. *εἰς ταῦτ'*. *For thereupon he thought they would immediately address him with entreaties*, i. e. to co-operate with them in the quarrel. — 148. 14. *παρ' αὐτοῦ*. Philip obtained this privilege as part of his victory in the Phocian war. — *ἱερομνημόνων*. *Religion-commissioners*. An office apparently for life, at any rate superior to that of the Pylagoræ. See Smith, Dic. Ant., for a full discussion of the point. — 15. *ἐκείνου*. Philip : change of pronoun to avoid repeating *αὐτοῦ*. Schäfer recites exactly the same construction from Xen., *Hell.*, I. vi. 14. — *εἰσηγοῖτο*. *Were to introduce this matter*. The optative here of the condition which did not happen, the subjunctive *ῆ* of the condition which did. See 147, *συμπελθεῖν*. — 18. *ὕπεναντιον*. *His* (sc. Philip's) *adversaries*. The element *ὕπ-* modifies the force of the adjective a little : there was no open war between Athens and Macedon just at this period. Still *ὕπεναντιος* and *ἐναντίος*, according to the Lexica, are used almost synonymously. — 19. *λήσειν*. *He* (Philip) *would evade suspicion*. The subject of *λήσειν* to be taken from *ἐνόμιζε* which precedes. — 149. 22. *προβληθείς*. *Was proposed as Pylagoras, and three or four hands having been held up, was declared to be duly elected* : that the whole thing was a job, or an oversight, is what the orator wishes to imply. — 25. *λαβόν*. *With all the prestige of the city about him*. Like *ἔχων*, *φέρων*, *ἔγων*, so *λαβόν* is frequently thus used in lieu of a preposition. As

the elected representative, *Æschines* would of course possess all the influence of Athens to his hearers in the Council. — 26. *ἐπέπαινον*, imp. to denote the beginning of a process = *set about accomplishing*: *ῥηθὲς* below, *histor. pres.* — *ἐπ' οἷς*. *The ends for which.* *ἐν* here of the basis in connection with which the contract was made. See also 16, *ἐν' ἀληθείας*, note. — 27. *λόγους καὶ μύθους*, *facts and fables*. — *ἀνέπωντες λόγων*, *were unused to speeches*, the hieromnemons. This might well be as they were appointed by lot. WHISTON. — P. 54, l. 1. *ἴδω*. *As to how*: the matter being old in history has to be traced from its origin: hence *ἴδω* rather than *ὄρω*. — *Κιρραία*. *The tract of Cirrha*: a frequent resort of pilgrims to Delphi. According to *Æschines*, the Cirrheans grossly overcharged and plundered these sojourners. Hence the first Sacred War (B. C. 595) was undertaken by the Amphictyons to punish them. Their city, which stood on the Sinus Corinthiacus, close to Delphi, was captured and destroyed in 585, and the ground on which it had stood was consecrated to Apollo. This no doubt is historical fact (*Æschin.*, pp. 68, 69), though it suits the orator here to speak of it as a myth. — 150. 4. *περιέλθω*, *to make a survey*, with the object of inspecting, to see if the sacred ground was being encroached upon. — 5. *οἷσιν*. *As being their own*. The participle constitutes here a causal sentence. *Μαδν.*, *G. S.*, 174 (*quippe quum sua ipsorum esset*). — 6. *χάρας*. *A portion of the sacred tract*. Genitive strictly partitive. — *δικήν*. According to *Æschines* (l. c.) the Locrian representatives had moved in the Council that a fine of fifty talents be imposed on Athens for dedicating sundry golden shields, in the new Temple of Apollo, inscribed "taken by the Athenians from the Persians and Thebans when fighting against the Greeks." Besides the offensive inscription, there was a further transgression in the shields having been dedicated before the new Temple was fully consecrated. There is no reason to doubt that the Locrians did move this resolution to have the Athenians fined; true, it was not a case of *δικήν ἐνδ- γυν*, but *Æschines* had never said it was; he had only described them as *δόγμα εἰσφέροντας*. All that Demosthenes could fairly have urged in reply would have been that this Locrian resolution was not worth being noticed by the representative of Athens; or, at any rate, that *Æschines*, if he did notice it at all, ought to have noticed it in a different way. In this part of the speech the orator's argument is decidedly weak, not to say evasive. — 7. *ἐπαγόντων*, *circumstantial part.*: *although the Locrians were bringing no suit against us, nor charging*

what this man now pretends, saying what was not true. Æschines (l. c.) had represented that his charge of sacrilege against the Locrians (alleging that they had desecrated this hallowed Cirrhaean territory) was provoked entirely as a countercharge in answer to their charge of sacrilege against Athens. The orator tries to prove that they had not really made such a charge. — 10. *τελέσασθαι*. To accomplish a prosecution of our state without serving a summons. *τελέσασθαι* is a little unusual in connection with *δικήν*, but distinguishes the actual bringing of an action into court from the mere threatening to bring one, which is all the orator admits the Locrians to have done. The summons, of course, would be before the court of the Amphictyonic Council. — *δήπου* = surely, or of course. — *ἐκλήψουσεν*. Name the man who served the citation. On *πρόσκλησις* see Smith, Dic. Ant., Dike, and Cleteres. — 11. *ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς*. Literally, in what Archonship? i. e. name the year. — *τὸν εἰδότεν*. Tell us the man who knows of it, i. e. adduce confirmatory evidence. All this, though strong in rhetoric, is somewhat absurd in logic, as no one had ever alleged that the trial had taken place at all. — 13. *κατεχρᾶ*. The element *κατ-* here of abusing rather than of using to the full. But both senses are implied. — 15. 14. *ἐφήγησιν*. Direction. The word has an interesting technical use in Platon., *Protag.*, 326, D, ἀναγκάζουσι γράφειν κατὰ τὴν ἐφήγησιν τῶν γραμμῶν. Some understand that the writing-master traced the letters faintly in pencil, and that the pupil followed the lines so traced. Others understand that the lines were merely ruled to keep the writing straight. See Heind. l. c. — 15. *μικροῦ*. Genitive of separation: *with in a little, almost*. See *ὀλίγου δέιν*, note τί σὺν, 20. C. 665; H. 575, a. — *κατηκόντισαν*. Shot down. *διεξήλθε διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου φήμη ὡς κατακοντιεὶ σφέας*. Her., IX., 17. — 19. *Κότυφος*. Κότυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν πότε τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζοντα ("a native of Pharsalia and president of the Amphictyons," Æschin., p. 71 fin.). We know nothing more about him. — 21. *οὐδέν*. Æschines gives a very different account, pp. 71, 72: *καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεύουσιν, ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐξημίωσαν... ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐτε τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς τ' ἐναγέις κατήγαγον, οὕτως ἦδη τὴν δευτέραν στρατείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐποιήσαντο*: that is, that the Amphictyonic troops invaded the territory of the Amphissians and compelled them to submit to certain conditions, which, however, they did not fulfil, so that it was necessary to make a second expedition

against them. It is, however, quite possible, as Whiston observes, that both accounts were true in the main. We have to allow for each of the two orators regarding the matter from such a different standpoint. — *ἐπιούσαν*. The next, i. e. the autumn meeting of the Amphictyons. See below, ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ. — *εἰς* = *for* or *by*. — 22. *ἦγον*. Were for handing the war over to Philip. We understand *πόλεμον* as the object of *ἦγον*, which Reiske renders *ablegabant*, and Bremi *mandare studuerunt*. Cf. p. 125, l. 20. — 152. 25. *εὐφρίαν*. They must either themselves subscribe, i. e. to provide funds for raising an army. The *εὐφροιά* was an extraordinary war tax. See Dic. Ant., sub v. — *ἐξέρον*. Enlist foreigners, i. e. as mercenary troops. — 26. *ἱημοῖον*, i. e. to enforce the payment of the subscription. — 27. *ἐκείνον*, i. e. Philip, if elected general, would bear the whole expense of the war. — P. 55, l. 1. *ἐκ τούτων*, from these considerations. — *εὐθέως*. The capture of Elatea was in the winter of 339; we do not know the exact date, but at any rate within three months of the autumn Pylæa referred to. — 3. *ἐπρωσθαι*. Having bid a long adieu, i. e. having dismissed from his consideration. *ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἐπρωσθαι λέγω*, p. 62, l. 19. The phrase is common in this sarcastic usage. — 153. 8. *τό γ' ἑαίφρη*. At all events for the moment, sc. though not ultimately. — *μέλιστα μὲν...εἰτα μίντοι*. Chiefly, it is true...but in a secondary degree. I have already noticed *μίντοι* as an adversative, 12; no adversative was necessary here, as *εἰτα* is itself antithetic. See note on *ἔπειτα*, l. — 11. *χρόνους*. We are at a loss to understand in what form these *dates* were preserved on record; certainly it could not have been as they appear in the spurious document below. We should have expected the reading of successive *ψηφίσματα* passed at the period in question, with the dates of the day and month attached, and distinct reference to the several events; or else of the particular *ψηφίσμα* describing the appointment of Æschines as Pylagoras. Cf. 155, end. — 154. ΔΟΓΜΑ. The contents of both these Dogmas stamp them as forgeries. They merely embody the statements of Demosthenes, and quite ignore the conflicting statements of Æschines (p. 71 sq.). Of course the indefatigable Böhnecke and Vömel defend both as genuine. But the elaborate criticisms of Droysen and others effectually demolish their validity. The curious will refer to Dindorf's Demosthenes, Vol. V., p. 406, for a *resumé* of the discussion. — *ἱπῆρας*. Supposed to be an Arch-Hieromnemon corresponding to the Archon Eponymus. — *ἐαρινῆς*. Both decrees are dated in the spring, which

directly contradicts τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, 151. Reiske corrected ἐαυτοῖς into δ' αὐτοῖς in the Second Decree, which the ungrateful Böhnecke is pleased to style *conjectura infelicitissima*. — **πυλαγόροις** is the older form. See Lex. — **συνίδροις**. We know of no such office in connection with the Amphictyonic Council, but of course it may have existed. — 155. **τῷ κοινῷ**. Some critics object to this as an unusual term for the *general body*, but it is a most common expression in Attic. Thuc., IV., 78, etc., etc. — **καταναμέμενοι**. *Having divided among themselves*: the active *κατανέμουν*, in the first dogma, is used less correctly, *treat as pasture for flocks*; *ρέμουν* immediately below is quite classical, *they send to pasture*. — **Ἀρκάδα**. Æschines calls him a Pharsalian: 151, **Κόττυφος**. — **ἀξιοῦν ἵνα**. The infinitive after *ἀξιοῦν* is the natural and usual construction; *ὥς* with the subjunctive is wholly unclassical in prose. — **διότι** = *that*. Classical usage would require *ὅτι* preceded probably by *ἀγγέλλειν*, unless we are to understand the latter from *προσβεῦσαι*. — **ΧΡΟΝΟΙ**. The most meaningless of all the forgeries; it specifies a date minutely, but omits to mention what happened upon it. — **Μνησιθείδης**. Æschines says he was appointed *πυλαγῶρας ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἀρχοντος*, p. 69 (*fin.*). According to the Fasti, the Archon Eponymus of 339 to 338 was Lysimachidas. At any rate it was not Mnesithides (*qui neque archon unquam neque opinor scriba prytaniæ, aut prætor fuit*. DROYSEN.) — 156. 3. **ὥς οὐχ ὑπήκουον**. *When they refused to comply*, as already stated, 153. — 5. **συμμάχους**. Ἀρκάδας, Ἀργεῖους, Μεσσηνίους, Ἡλείους. SCHOL. — 6. **ἀληθὴ πρόφασιν**. This use of *πρόφασιν* for the *true reason* is rare and scarcely recognized in the lexicons. It is often opposed to *ἀληθὲς* (*πρόφασιν μὲν... τὸ ἀληθὲς δέ*), and is used just below to denote the *pretexts* alleged by Philip and presented by Æschines. — **κοινά**. *The universal interests as specified by the Amphictyonic decree*. The *καί* has here an intensive force, not a copulative; 3, first note. — 157. **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ**. This document is not so obviously a forgery as most of those which have preceded. The points of suspicion will be noticed as they occur. — **δημιουργοίς**. So Thucyd., V., 47, *οἱ δημιουργοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ*, where the historian is speaking of Mantinea and of Elis. As a designation of *chief magistrate* it very likely existed in other Peloponnesian constitutions also. Compare our *public servants*. — P. 57. **ὥστε συναντᾶτε**. *And so assemble*, etc. This use of *ὥστε* with the imperative is rare, though not without example both in prose and poetry. — **λόφου**. It is pretty fairly established that the Macedonian month Lous was not identical

with the Athenian month Boedromion (Clinton's *Fasti*, II., 358), but with Hecatombeon. Panemus, which was a Boeotian and Corinthian as well as a Macedonian word, corresponded to the Athenian month Metageitnion (Böckh., *Inscript.*, I., 732). No genuine document would contain such a blunder as this. — τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις. These words and the two which follow Dindorf places in brackets, and Schäfer wishes to erase. The text is hopelessly corrupt, and it seems useless to suggest emendations. Omitting these words the meaning is: *Those who do not assemble with all their force we shall treat as subject to the usual penalties*, i. e. as enemies. — πανθημεῖ = πανστρατιᾷ. — 158. 5. μὴ... περιμέντες. *Do not then go about and say*: a favorite combination: περιμέν' αὐτὸν πυνθάνεσθαι τίσι πρότερον συμβέβηκεν ἔβρισθῆναι. p. 525 (end). — 6. ἢ' ἐνός, sc. τοῦ Φιλίππου. — 159. 9. μηδὲν εὐλαβεθέντα. *Without reserve*: i. e. dismissing all delicacy and respect for the hearers. — 12. τόπων. Tracts of territory either with or without buildings and inhabitants: πόλειον, distinctively of the inhabited. Whiston makes τόπων = χωρίων, places, i. e. *forts*, and compares Virg., *Æn.* II., 573: Trojæ et patriæ communis Erinnyes. — 13. παρασχόν = furnished. — 14. ἀποστρέφεται. The passive ἀποστρέφεσθαι is constantly thus constructed with the accusative, without any preposition to connect them. The same remark applies to all verbs of motion. Madvig, *G. S.*, 21, r. 2; C. 472, f; Cu. 398; H. 544, a. Render: *and how it is that you did not turn away from him as soon as ever you saw him, I wonder*. — 15. σκότος. The neuter gender of this word is specially affected by Demosthenes (p. 411, l. 25, etc.), but is rare in Attic authors generally. — 16. πρό. *Between you and the truth*, lit. abiding with you before the truth.

160-167. IN DENOUNCING THE POLITICAL CAREER OF ÆSCHINES, I HAVE NOW COME TO SPEAK OF MY OWN CAREER AT THE TIME. DISCERNING PHILIP'S OBJECTS, I RESISTED THEM TO THE UTMOST; NOT THAT MY POLICY WAS ORIGINAL; I ONLY FOLLOWED BETTER MEN, WHOM YOU, ÆSCHINES, CRINGED TO LIVING, THOUGH YOU RE-VILE THEM DEAD. I REPEAT, IT WAS YOU AND YOUR ACCOMPLICES WHO BY THAT POLICY BROUGHT US NEAR TO RUIN.

160. P. 58, l. 3. εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν. *If, after I sustained on my part the doing of the labor for your sakes, yet you on your part will not have patience to hear the words which describe them*. The common antithesis of ἔργον and λόγος = realities and reports. αὐτῶν is objective gen. — 161. 5. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ. *For seeing that the Th-bans and, to some extent, you*

also, under the influence of the partisans of Philip and those who were bribed in either state, were overlooking and in no single point guarding against what was dangerous and required much watching, viz., suffering the growth of Philip. ἑκατέρους each of the two (Athens and Thebes) separately, opposed, as Dissem observes, to ἀμφοτέροις, both collectively. — 14. Ἀριστοφῶντα, 70, and Εἰβουλον also. — 162. 15. πρᾶξαι. To achieve this friendship, i. e. between Athens and Thebes. The ἀντιλέγοντας which follows is concessive, cf. 142, εἰδώς; 146, κρατοῦντι. — 18. κίναδος, cf. κύρβις, κρόταλον, κίναδος, τρύμη, Aristoph., *Nub.*, 448. — οὗς. This accusative is governed by κολακεύων, but, by an easy zeugma, suggests the dative which παρηκολούθεισ requires. Æschines is said to have been secretary to Aristophon. — 19. οὐκ αἰσθάνει. You fail to perceive, i. e. your stupidity prevents you from perceiving, that you denounce them, now they are dead. But the old reading αἰσχύνει gave a better sense: you do not blush to denounce them, now they are dead, the imputation of ἀναισθησία is so inconsistent with the epithet κίναδος. However Σ has αἰσθάνει and all the editors seem to have adopted the correction. — 22. δοκιμασάντων. Examined and approved, sanctioned. — 163. ἑκείσε, i. e. to his statements, 147–153. — 23. τούτου μὲν κ. τ. λ. It was through his having caused the war at Amphissa and the rest of his accomplices having developed our hostility with Thebes, that Philip contrived to come down upon us. — 26. οὐτερ...συνέκρουον, the very purpose for which these men were embroiling the states, lit. knocking them together, cf. 19, and note there. — 27. προσεγανίστημεν. Had we not uprisen a little before him, we should never have been able to retrieve our position; to such lengths did these creatures promote the ill-feeling. — P. 59, l. 1. μέχρι is common with an adverb of time or place, as here. So with δέυρο, ἐνταῦθα, οἱ, τότε, τὰ νῦν. — 164. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. The contents of this and the three following documents are sufficient to stamp them as forgeries. The orator introduces them by saying that they will show the state of feeling existing between Athens and Thebes at the time. Now the first psephisma says nothing about Thebes, and the second next to nothing. Both of them are confined to an account of the state of affairs between Athens and Macedon. The same remark applies to the first apocrisis, and the second refers only to Thebes in its relation to Macedon. After the documents have been read, the orator describes them (168) as of a nature to exasperate Thebes against Athens, and encourage Philip to attack Elatea. Nothing in the documents justifies this description. Some other

indications of spuriousness will be noticed in their place. — Ἡροτόθου. No such person was Archon in the year 339 or 338. But Elatea was captured in the winter of 339, or at latest at the beginning of 338. — βουλῆς...γνώμη, cf. psephisma, 37, and note there. — ἀς μὲν, 71, note s. v. — κεφαλala. *In fine.* τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον 213 (*inf.*). — ἐπιβάλλεται. This use is quite classical: *throws himself upon*, i. e. *desires, purposes*. — εἰρήνην. But the peace of 346 had been regularly broken in 340 (69, ἐκστás), and if any subsequent peace had been made, the orator or Aeschines would surely have mentioned it. — δεδóχθαι. Cf. 29, note. — εἰ δὲ μή. *But, failing that* (the constant formula of apodosis to μάλιστα μὲν, *above all*), i. e. as the most desirable alternative if it can only be achieved: in the simplest paraphrase = *if possible...but at any rate*. On the construction of εἰ δὲ μή see Madvig's *G. S.*, 194, b; C. 717; H. 754, b. — ἀνοχάς. *Inducias*. The usual Attic form is ἀνοκωχή. — θαργηλιώνος. The next month but one to Elaphebolion, Munychion intervening. See CALENDAR in Smith's *Dic. Ant.* — 165. πολέμαρχου γνώμη. There is no authority for supposing that the Archon Polemarch had any distinctive voice or power on these occasions. Droysen notices this as one of the marks of forgery in the document. — κήρυκα. It is highly improbable that the herald would be mentioned in any psephisma. Schäfer suggests, as a reason, *quo plus Philippo offerretur religionis*. But a herald would be attached to such a party as a matter of course, and would need no official mention. — ἐνδεχομένως. Post-classical: appears in Polybius: "pro ratione temporum, i. q. ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων." REISKE. — P. 60. μετρίων, i. e. under any *reasonable condition, tolerable position*. — 166. χαίρειν. *Greeting*. Cf. 39, note. — αἰρεσιν. Instead of the more usual προαίρεσιν. So Plato, *Phædr.*, 256 c. — σπουδήν. *Effort*. — μή. Classical Greek would require οὐ, as the sentence is causal, not conditional. — ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς. *Reversing the procedure*, i. e. doing the opposite of what the Thessalians, etc., have done. The phrase is quite classical, though somewhat too poetical for its surroundings here. — πεπλημμελημένοι. This use of the passive πλεμμελίσθαι as meaning *to be injured* is quite classical, though rare. — πλεμμελούμενος δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ λαιδορῆθεις. Platon., *Phædr.*, 275 (end). — συγκατατίθεμαι, sc. τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν. And so Plato writes it in full, *Gorgias*, 501, c. *I concur with*. — παραπεψάντες. *Having dismissed*. Post-classical; the usual sense being *to convey* or *to escort*. — 167. ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ. Even if this were genuine, it would

be of little value without the Theban resolution which it professes to answer. — *δίωτι*. *Sup.*, 155. — *προσφέρονται*. *Proffer*: post-classical in this sense: the verb usually meaning to *take* (food or medicine). — *συγκαταίνους*. *Abettors*: a post-classical word. — *κατεγγίνωσκον*. *I was disposed to blame you on the prospect of your being persuaded*. A harsh construction where we should rather expect *ὡς μελλόντων*. — P. 61. *οἶσεν βοπήν*. *Bring you no small advantage*. *βοπή* as the critical turn of the scale is quite classical, and as common in prose as in poetry. However, exception has been taken to the phrase as it stands here by Whiston and others. It is perhaps unsuitable to a purely formal document. — *προθέστας*. *Purpose*: not used in this sense by the Attic writers, but found in Aristotle, Polybius, etc.

168. IN BRIEF THIS WAS HOW PHILIP BROKE UP OUR UNION AND WON THE DAY. REMEMBER OUR EXCITEMENT AT THE TIME OF ELATEA'S CAPTURE.

4. *Ἐλάτειον*. Cf. note 143. It was 78 miles from Athens, and commanded the approach towards that city. — *οὐδ' ἂν εἰ*. This *ἂν* is repeated with *συμπνευσάντων*, Madvig, 138; C. 622. The phrase *εἰ τι γένοιτο* is euphemistic: *even if some awful crisis were to happen*. *οὐδ' εἰ τι πάθοις*, Theocr., VIII., 10. — 5. *συμπνευσάντων* in this participial construction has the force of the optative mood. C. 658, a; Cu. 595; G. 226, 3; H. 803. There is a *varia lectio* *συμπνευσόντων*, which, strange to say, has been adopted by Bremi and others. But *πνέω* and its compounds use only the middle form of the future, never the active. — *ἡμῶν*. *As though the Thebans and ourselves would never again co-operate, come what might*.

169 — 179. AT THAT FATAL CRISIS, WHEN IN FULL ASSEMBLY ATHENS APPEALED TO HER STATESMEN FOR DIRECTION, WHO WAS IT THAT ROSE TO ANSWER? I ALONE. IF EVER THERE WAS A DEMAND FOR TRUE PATRIOTISM AND SOUND POLICY, THAT WAS THE TIME. SO I MOVED A RESOLUTION THAT WE SHOULD CO-OPERATE WITH THEBES IN RESISTANCE TO MACEDON; THAT OUR ENVOYS SHOULD BE DESPATCHED FORTHWITH, AND OUR ARMY AT ONCE MAKE A DEMONSTRATION.

169. 9. *Ἐσπίρα*. This splendid pictorial passage is duly lauded by Longinus (c. 10) and Hermogenes (p. 284): quoted also by Diodorus, XVI., 84. — 10. *πρυτάνεις* who, from their official position, would be the first recipients of all intelligence. *ὡς=πρός*. C. 711, a; Cu. 445; G. 191, 3; H. 614, 621. — 11. *δειπνοῦντες* in the Pryta-

neum at the public expense: a privilege of their office. Athen., V., p. 186, A. — 12. **ἔσθρον.** *Began driving the shopkeepers from their booths in the Agora*, sc. in order to clear the Agora, so that the Ecclesia might be convened with all possible expedition. Aristoph., *Ach.*, 21, 2. — 13. **γέρρα.** *Wicker-work* literally, but used, according to Harpocration, of any covering or roofing, whether it were canvas or leather, or otherwise. All editions seem to understand it here either as *sheds*, or else *coverings of the σκηνή*. I cannot but think myself that it refers to the γέρρα which fenced in the place of assembly so as to exclude strangers (c. *Neer.*, p. 1375). They expected a "monster meeting" under such exciting circumstances, and made every preparation to receive an extraordinary number. To save time they burnt the hurdles instead of carrying them away, and so threw open ample space for all comers. — **ἐνέμψασαν.** To serve as a beacon, according to Schäfer, but, as Whiston truly observes, the Agora was not a likely situation for that purpose. The sole object of burning these articles was most probably to clear them all away as fast as possible. — **στρατηγούς.** At such a crisis of the war a formal conference between the Strategi and the Boule would be necessary; and probably it was desirable that the Ecclesia should be convened by a joint proclamation from the Strategi and the Boule (37) in order to make the summons as impressive and imperative as possible. — 14. **σαλπικτήν.** Perhaps it was a special formality to send out the summons by the *σαλπικτής*, as well as by the ordinary *κήρυκες*, whenever the Strategi were responsible for calling the Ecclesia together. The invariable use of *σαλπικτής* as a military term, and its juxtaposition to *στρατηγούς* here, combine to suggest this notion. In the spelling of *σαλπικτής* I have followed Dindorf and all the modern editors, who agree in omitting the γ. But cf. LIDD. and SC. s. v. — **μετεπέμποντο... ἐκάλουν,** imperfect, indicating the simultaneous occurrence of many exhibitions of alarm. — 16. **ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.** *At dawn of day*: there was nothing, however, extraordinary in this: the early hour of these meetings is constantly noticed: Aristoph., *Ach.*, 20, *Ecd.*, 312, 377, etc. — **ἐκάλουν.** These imperfects add to the pictorial force of the description. — 17. **βουλευτήριον.** A brief notice of the topography is here almost indispensable. The Bouleuterion stood in the Agora, probably on the extreme eastern side just below the Tholus or Prytaneum, which was in the northeast corner. Thus they were both immediately at the foot of the Acropolis, which bounded the Agora

on the east. — 18. *πρὶν*. So eager were they to commence the business that they went and took their seats in the Pnyx long before the Boule had had time to consider and prepare their report. — 19. *ἀνω*, i. e. on the top of the Pnyx, the Bouleuterion being down in the Agora. The Agora occupied the whole of the level valley which was bounded on the west by the Pnyx, on the east by the Acropolis, on the north by the Areopagus, and on the south by the Museum. The members of the Boule, when adjourning to the Pnyx with their report, would have to traverse the Agora from east to west and ascend the hill of the Pnyx. For fuller particulars see the excellent article *ATHENÆ* in Smith's *Dic. Geog.*, or Wordsworth's *Athens*. — 170. 20. *εἰσέλθον*, sc. into the Pnyx, having held their deliberations in the Bouleuterion and now proceeding to report the result to the Demos, and put the question to their vote. — *οἱ πρυτάνεις*. It would be only the committee (*οἱ προέδροι*) who would actually attend to read the report (*ἀπαγγεῖλαι*); or perhaps only *ὁ ἐπιστάτης*, as the mouthpiece of the whole body. — 21. *προσηγγεμένα*, sc. *ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς*. The report which they had been commissioned by the council to deliver. — 22. *παρήγαγον*. *Introduced to the meeting the messenger who had come*. Cf. Aristoph., *Ach.*, 22–172, for a description of the ordinary proceeding at an Ecclesia. — *εἶπεν*. *Had told his tale*; i. e. told the Demos the details which he had already told to the Prytanes and Boule. — *ἤρώτα*. *Kept asking*: the imperfect sense being here strongly marked. — *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται*; The regular form of commencing the business. Aristoph., *Ach.*, 45. — P. 62, l. 3. *παρόντων*. The force of the participial construction is concessive. — 4. *βητόρων* contrasts curiously with *στρατηγῶν*, the latter being officials appointed by the state, the former merely self-appointed professionals, but yet recognized as a class, and a class on a par with the state officers. Our own "Government" and "Press" suggest an analogy. — 5. *τὸν κοινόν*. *Some one to speak for the common weal*, *συνρηπας*, as usual, of sound condition reconstituted from a state of decay or danger. The absence of the article is noticed by Reiske, but, as Schäfer comments, "articulo facile caremus: p. 146, 11." — 171. 10. *τὸ βῆμα*. The famous *λίθος*, a cubic platform of ten feet cut out of the rock in the middle of the Pnyx semicircle. — 12. *οἱ τριακόσιοι*, i. e. the first class of the Finance Sections: their arrangement has been already described (10, *ἡγεμόνας*) in the account of the Naval Sections, whose organization was identical. — *ἀμφοτέρω*, in apposition with *τούς*, *those who were both*

those things at once, loyal to the state and wealthy. — 14. οἱ...ἐπιδόντες, those who subsequently gave the great voluntary contributions. ἐπιδόσεις are gifts after or in addition to their quota of assessed taxes. — 172. 17. παρηκολουθηκότα. Who had followed up, traced the course of. ὁ τὰ τούτου πονηρέματ' ἀκριβέστατα εἰδὼς ἐγὼ καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς ἀπασι, p. 423, l. 23. Cf. St. Luke's Gospel, c. i., v. 3. — 18. συλλελογισμένον. Perf. Midd. who had concluded: qui collegisset. — 21. οὐτ'. The reduplication of the negatives throughout this clause is very noticeable. — 22. ἤμῃ. Was no more likely. C. 598; Cu. 501; H. 711. — 173. 24. οὕτως. Well, then: I showed myself the man, sc. ὃν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη ἐκάλει. With this emphatic position of ἐγὼ cf. 62 (fin.). — 25. αἰ. The relative must here be paraphrased for the sake of the English: I spoke before you...and hear what I said, with your best attention, for two reasons. — P. 63, l. 1. τάξιν. My post, 138 (fin.). Whiston cites c. Mid., 155, λελοιπέναι τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν. — 2. ἐξηταζόμεν. Approved myself, 197 (fin.). — 3. φοβεροῖς. In the very hour of panic. φοβερός always of horrors only, δεινός of wonders also. — μικρόν in pointed antithesis to πολλῶ — 4. τῆς. The genitive depends on τὰ λοιπὰ, not on ἐμπειρότεροι: you will have far greater knowledge for the future of your whole administration. — 174. 5. εἶπον. So in Philip. II., Demosthenes quotes at length from a speech which he had addressed to the Messenians and the Argives. — 6. ἐπαρχόντων. Were supporting Philip. So 358, 7, τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπαρχεῖν αὐτοῖς, they had Philip, i. e. as a substantial basis of support. Cf. ἐπάρχειν in 1 (note). In the older editions φέλων was inserted after ἐπαρχόντων here, but Bekker erased it. See Schäfer's note. — 175. 14. ἡττρήπισται. Perf. Midd.; the action being for his own interest. — 18. ἐπῆρται. Supply βούλεται, in answer to the question above. — 176. 22. δύσκολον. Unpleasant, euphemism for κακόν. The state of feeling between Thebes and Athens has often already been adverted to; 96, etc. — 23. Θηβαίους, dat. of the agent by the Thebans, C. 461; Cu. 434; G. 188, 3; H. 600. — P. 64, l. 1. Observe the emphatic position of ἀμφότεροι. — 2. πρὸς τῇ. Close application to the subject is here the preposition's force. περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω obviously belongs to both the infinitives. — 177. 6. μεταθέσθαι, sc. τὸν φόβον: i. e. they are to dismiss apprehension for themselves, and to entertain apprehension for Thebes. — 7. τῶν θανάτων, gen. with ἐγγός. C. 445; Cu. 415; G. 182; H. 589. — 8. προτέρους. As a predicate: the peril is theirs first. — 9. ἐξελθόντας. Secondly that all

of you who are of the age (i. e. for military service, 18 to 60) and all your cavalry should march out towards Eleusis and show the world that you are yourselves under arms. The article τοὺς has from the context the force of πάρας ὑμᾶς in both cases. The road to Thebes via Eleusis was the most convenient for an army, though not the most direct, as Whiston points out. — 12. *ἔξ ἑσθ' ἰσότητα*. May have equal liberty to speak boldly. Literally: that this liberty may arise for them on a par. — 13. *ἴσωνται*, i. e. that both sides will have equal military support. — 178. 19. *κυπλοῦν*. To give them absolute power in conjunction with the Strategi to settle their time of going there (to Thebes) and the campaign. — 24. *ἀλοχρεῖν*. Because they would not be in a position to refuse. Observe the fondness of the Greek for the personal, or subjective form = it would be dishonorable under the circumstances. — P. 65, l. 1. καὶ δ. If καὶ is here both, it introduces the apodosis extending to *πράξωμεν*: if καὶ is and, the apodosis is not expressed but understood to be *πάντα εἰ ἔχῃ* or the like: a common aposiopesis before *εἰ δὲ μή*. Madv., 194, b, r. The former is to be preferred. — *διυπημένον*. The middle voice again with the sense of action for their own interest. — 2. *προσχήματος*, Holmes renders here *magnificence*. But the commentators generally, with better reason, take the word in its more ordinary sense of *pretext*, or apparent motive, sc. of acting disinterestedly. — 3. *ἂν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ*. If after all it be not our fortune to succeed. Having done everything in their own power for success, their failure could only be attributed to *τύχη*. — 179. 5. *Ταῦτα*. The extreme ease and simplicity of the orator's language on this occasion has been noticed by all commentators, and is obvious to any reader. It may be very reasonably supposed that the orator at such a crisis would speak his very plainest, dismissing all elaboration and rhetorical ornament. So Lord Brougham appears to understand him. — 8. *εἴπον μὲν*. This vigorous climax has been universally admired, perhaps a little beyond its merits, which are due rather to the exquisitely anti-thetic power of *μὲν* and *δέ* than to any intrinsic vigor of thought in the sentence. *I did not speak thus, and yet not move a resolution; and I did not move a resolution, and yet not serve on the embassy; and I did not serve on the embassy, and yet not convince the Thebans*. Instead of *yet not*, Drake well renders *οὐκ...δέ* by *then not*. However we render the passage, it will be awkward and clumsy in English. The Latin translators are equally hampered. Aquila Romanus (p. 21) has "et non dixi hæc quidem non autem scripsi, etc." Quintilian (ix., 3), cited

by Whiston, "nec hæc quidem dixi sed nec scripsi, etc." The notorious instance of climax in Cicero (*pro Mil.*, 23) is effected by "nec solum...sed etiam" in each clause. — 11. *ἑδον'*. *I devoted myself entirely to your interests.* Cf. τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτοῖς διδόναι 97, where the sense of self-sacrifice is yet more prominent. — 12. *εἰς*. *In the face of*, i. e. so as to meet and encounter. — 13. *φέρε*. Apparently the clerk has to search for the document, and while they are waiting for it the orator seizes the opportunity for the following lament.

180. *Αἶ*, *ÆSCHINES*, WHAT WAS MY PART IN THE DRAMA, AND WHAT WAS YOURS? WAS YOUR SCENIC MAJESTY OF MUCH SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY? OR WAS IT YOUR DERIDED RIVAL WHO WAS HERO OF THE HOUR?

16. *ῥῶ*, *ponam*: *depict, represent.* — 18. *Βάτταλον*. Some MSS. have *Βάταλον*, but not so well; the *a* of the first syllable is short by nature, and yet Athenæus in a pentameter (IV., 176, D) quotes the word as a dactyl: καὶ τὸν ἐν ἀκρήτοις Βάτταλον ἡδυνότην. As to the meaning of the nickname there are various solutions offered. The Scholiasts on *Æschin.*, p. 17, l. 42, render it *profligate, effeminate*, giving several different derivations, (1) as the actual name of a flute-player or poet Batalus, notorious for his effeminacy: (2) as the name of the *ὑποπόδιον* (instrument for beating time) which the flute-player worked with his right foot; hence metaphorically a term of contempt. They add one or two coarser etymologies. *Æschines* (p. 41, l. 13) explains the name similarly as given δι' αἰσχουργίαν: and he quotes with derision the explanation of Demosthenes, that it was a pet name given him in infancy by his nurse (p. 17, l. 42). Schäfer, with the approval of Whiston, Drake, and many of the best editors, connects the name with *βαττολογεῖν* and takes it as an allusion to the orator's notorious defect in speech. It is probably onomatopoeitic, like our words *stammer* and *stutter*. — *μηδ'...τυχόντα*. *Not even an ordinary hero*, i. e. more than an ordinary; cf. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἐτυχεν ἦν, 130. — 19. *τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς*, *those of the stage*, i. e. one of the characters so often acted on the stage. See *Lex.*, sub *ἀπό*. It was the privilege of third-rate actors to act such tyrants and kings as Cresphontes and Creon. *ἔστιν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοῖς τυράννοις καὶ τοῖς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι*, p. 418, l. 12. — *Κρεσφόντην*. A play of Euripides bore this name. Aristotle's *Poet.*, 14, 19. *Ælian* tells us (*V. H.*, 14, 40) that Merope, wife of Cresphontes, was the chief character in this tragedy, and Plutarch (*Mor.*,

998 E) describes her in one of the scenes as taking up an axe to slay her son. Cresphontes, according to early history, was a Heracleid, king of Messenia, murdered in a rebellion by Polyphontes, one of his nobles, who then constrained Merope to marry him. Welcker conjectures that the action of the drama would be all subsequent to the death of Cresphontes, who would only appear to speak the prologue, as a ghost, like Polydorus in the Hecuba. — **Κρόντα**. In the Antigone of Sophocles; also a subordinate part. — 20. **Κολλύτῃ**. One of the demes where dramatic performances took place during the rural Dionysia, outside the boundaries of the city. The site of Collytus was in the valley between the Pnyx and the Museum. It was the deme where Plato resided, and probably Æschines also, if we can trust at all to the evidence of the spurious letters. **Κολλύτου ἐν ᾧ πέγρε καὶ τετραράκοντα ἔτη ᾤκησα**. [Æschin.] *Ep.* 5. — **Οἰνόμεον**. In the Œnomaus of Sophocles, where the principal part would, of course, be that of Pelops or else Hippodamia. — **κακῶς**. *You murdered by your vile acting*. One MS., b, inserts *κακός* before *κακῶς*, greatly improving the sentence, but none of the other MSS. contain it. It is probably the embellishment of some later hand. With *ἐπέτριψας* we can compare *ἐλυμάλον*, 267. Dissen cites *Memnona iugulare*. Hor., 1 *Sat.*, X., 36. — **ἐποκρινόμενος**. The story goes that Æschines, on one occasion, tripped and fell down on the stage while running after Pelops in the character of Œnomaus (*Vit. Æschin.*). Others opine that his fall was only metaphorical, *καταπίπτειν* corresponding to *συνπτεσθαι* (*explodi*) = to break down and be hissed off the stage. — 21. **Παιανίης**, i. e. he accepts the name of contempt and facetiously adds his own correct address; similarly he bestows on Æschines the name of dignity, attaching also his address in form. "Forsooth I am the miscreant and you the monarch; well, the miscreant on that occasion was the hero of the hour, the monarch of Elis was a mere nonentity." — 181. P. 66. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ**. Another forgery; the name of the Archon is wrong; the whole document is pointless and ungrammatical, needlessly long, and as feeble as it is verbose. That such a composition should claim Demosthenes for its author is, of course, ridiculous. Even Vömel does not defend it. There is a special absurdity in supposing he could have written the mythical allusions with which the psephisma concludes. — **Ναυσικλέους**. The date is still 339, of which year the real Archon was Lysimachidas. This forgery is also inconsistent with the forgery of § 164, where the Archon's name is given as Hero-

pythes; it must be remembered that both documents, from their contents, refer to the same year, that the former is dated Thargelion, this latter Skirophorion (the next month later), between which months no change of Archon would naturally occur. — *ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς*. Philip in an Athenian document would usually be called *ὁ Μακεδών*. And so one MS. reads: another merely omits *βασιλεύς*. — *συνθήκας*. According to Böhncke, the peace of Philocrates, B. C. 346. Cf. 20. — *πόλις*. On the Thracian coast (27). — *προάγει*. Post-classical for *προέρχεται* (cf. p. 29, l. 18). — 182. *ἐμφροῦρους*. Post-classical in this sense: *φρουρὰν εἰσήγαγεν* *els...* *Æschin.*, p. 532. — *οὐδέν*. This censorious observation is quite out of place in a public resolution, and is only worthy of so poor a forgery as this. — *κατακέρως*. Post-classical for *ἀσελγῶς* (cf. p. 120, l. 10). — 183. *Ἰβίας*. *Proprius potestas*; Athenian; whereas *βαρβάρους* means the Thracian *πόλεις οὐδὲν προσηκούσας* in 181, distinct from *τινὰς καὶ Ἀθηναίων*. — *αὐτόν*, sc. *τὸν δῆμον*: meaning that Athens was indifferent so long as the aggression was merely on their own colonies; but when it came to be on *Ἑλληνικάς πόλεις*, then Athens could refrain no longer. — 184. *βιά*. There is no apodosis to the long sentence *ἐπειδὴ...καταδουλοῦνται*. Schäfer, however, considers this as Demosthenic and compares 126. Grote (XI., 673) remarks on this psephisma, that it implies that Athens was now about to pass out of pacific relations with Philip, whereas, on the contrary, they had for some time been at war, a fact which made the seizure of Elatea all the more formidable and significant. — *εἰξαμένους*. This passage is apparently adapted from the beginning of Xenoph., *Cyrop.*, II., *προσευξαμένοισι θεοῖς καὶ ἡρώσι τοῖς Περσίδα γῆν κατέχουσιν* (which Schäfer cites as an illustration). Dissen, however, takes it seriously as a natural preparation for a "bellum gravissimum futurum." — *ἡρώσι*, sc. *ἐπωνύμοις*, whose ten statues stood in the Agora. — *διότι*. Post-classical for *ὅτι* as in 155, 167. — *ναύαρχον*, 73, note s. v. — 185. P. 67. *ἀλλότριον*. By euphemism; as *δύσκολον*, 176, which section illustrates this whole clause. — *ἀλλοφύλου*. The Macedonians were a mixture of Illyrians and Pelasgians. The orator disregards the claim of their kings to be descended from the Argive Temenidae, Her., V., 22, VIII., 137. He always speaks of Philip as *βάρβαρον* (p. 35, p. 119, etc.). — 186. *οὔτε... τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ*, neither in connection by families nor identity of race. *ὁμοφύλοι*, of course, as Hellenes, and *συγγενεῖς*, as is conjectured, through the Gephyraei, an Athenian gens originally from Thetes. WHISTON.—

ἀποστερουμένους. By Eurystheus, according to traditional history. Cf. Müller, *Dor.*, I., p. 54. — **Οἰδίπουν.** Œdipus had been a connecting link between Thebes and Athens, as we see in Soph., *O. C.*, 91, 1521. — **ἔρεα**, e. g. at Haliartus, 395; in the recovery of the Cadmea at Thebes, 379; in the alliance between Thebes and Athens, 378, etc. The reference is to services rendered by the Athenians, which would serve as a precedent for their rendering similar services now. — 187. **ἐπιγάμιαν**, 91. — **πρέσβεις.** Only five names are given, yet in 178 we read *χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις*.

188-191. THIS DECREE PROVED OUR SALVATION. IF THERE WAS ANYTHING BETTER WE COULD HAVE DONE, WHY DID NO ONE POINT IT OUT AT THE TIME? OR WHY DOES NO ONE POINT IT OUT EVEN NOW? IT IS JUST THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN STATESMANSHIP AND FACTION, THAT THE FORMER COMMITS ITSELF TO RESPONSIBILITIES, THE LATTER SIMPLY CARPS AT EVENTS AND RESULTS.

3. **ἐπὶ τούτῳ**, i. e. by the Athenian political party who favored Macedon. — P. 68, l. 1. **ὥσπερ νέφος.** Why this trite simile should be so much admired by Longinus, Hermogenes, Demetrius, etc., is not so easy to understand. To say, as they do, that the rhythm of the sentence is perfect, is only the same as saying it is Demosthenic. But I cannot see that in this passage the orator has at all surpassed himself. — 2. **μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν.** Observe the force of the pres. inf. in contrast with the aor. (*δείξαι*): *not to be censuring now*. — 189. 3. **ὁ γάρ.** *For the Statesman and the Sneak, though alike in nothing, differ from each other most in this; the one speaks his mind before the event and commits himself to the mercy of those who have believed him, of fortune, of occasion, of any one that chooses; while the other holds his tongue when he ought to have spoken, and afterwards, if anything unpleasant results, comes girding at that.* The word *συκοφάντης* (118) is quite untranslatable, but had come to be synonymous by this time with *πονηρός*, cf. *Æsch.*, *F. L.*, 105: *ἡ τῶν πονηρῶν κωὴ ἐπωνυμία*. Whiston translates it *caviller* or *common accuser*; Lord Brougham, *partisan*; Kennedy, *pettifogger*; while all agree that no English word renders it exactly, since the thing exactly does not exist out of Athens. The redundant *τῶν ἄλλων* disappears in English. By *τοῖς πεισθεῖσι* we understand the members of the state who have accepted the policy suggested by the *σύμβουλος*, and who hold him *responsible* accordingly; the success or failure of his policy depends on circumstances, in which sense he is also *liable* to these. *βασκαλεῖν* in the sense of *reviling* takes an accusative either

of the person or thing (p. 94, l. 10). By τῷ βουλευμένῳ is meant any member of the state who may choose to rise and speak against the statesman after his policy has been proved a failure; such a member is distinct from οἱ πεισθέντες, inasmuch as he may have opposed the policy at the time, or may have passed it in silence without expressing approval. — 190. 10. ἐκεῖνος in strong contrast to νῦν which follows. — φροντίζοντος. *Who has a regard for the state and for saying what is right: λόγων* in reference to σιγήσας above. — 12. ὑπερβολήν. *I make such a superabundance of concession*, i. e. I show a generosity which is simply extravagant in giving my opponents another chance of attacking me. Demosthenes specially affects the word ὑπερβολή. (p. 35, l. 18; p. 553, l. 12, etc.) — 13. ἐνῆν. *Was practicable*, lit. *was admitted by the circumstances of the crisis*. — 16. μὴ λαθεῖν, *this ought not to have escaped me*. The *me* is emphatic. — 17. μηδέπω, *not even to this day*: καί again intensive. Another good example of the reduplicated negative. Cf. 139. — 18. φαινόμενον. *Visible*: illustrated by δείξαι and ἐόρακεν above. — 191. 21. σό. The amusing sarcasm is sufficiently explained by the context τοῦτο βασκαίνει, 189; ὑπεύθυνον τῇ τύχῃ (ib.). — 22. ἐγγυᾶσθαι. *To be answerable for*. ἐν ἄρα μὴ τινες ἐθέλωσιν αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων ἐγγυᾶσθαι τε καὶ συνεκτινοντες ἀπελευθεροῦν, Plat., *Leg.*, 955, B. — 25. ἀλλά. *Yet*, introducing the apodosis, ἐδειξας being of course supplied in the protasis. This use of ἀλλά, though common in conditional sentences, is rare in causal. — 26. τίς in an indirect question, 73, note. By the slight trajection of ἡ this τίς is made to refer to λόγος and καιρός equally. — 27. τῇ πόλει. Dative of relation, here decidedly in the category *incommodi*. — P. 69, l. 1. συμμαχία. Combined also with πράξις above, 22. — 2. τουτουσί. Deictic: he would point to his present hearers, the Athenian nation in assembly.

192–195. LOOK AT THE PRINCIPLE OF MY POLICY, NOT AT THE ISSUE OF EVENTS. OF COURSE, NO ONE CAN COMMAND SUCCESS, BUT DID I OMIT ANY MEANS TO DESERVE IT? THE STORM WRECKED OUR VESSEL, BUT DID THE CAPTAIN NEGLECT HIS DUTY? IF WE FARED THUS BADLY EVEN WITH THE THEBANS FOR ALLIES, WHAT SHOULD WE HAVE DONE WITHOUT THEM?

192. 3. τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθός. “Let the dead past bury its dead”; “Let bygones be bygones.” — 4. ἀφείραι. The perfect gives the force of *utter* and *thorough* dismissal. — 6. ἀπαιτεῖ. *Demands the office of a statesman*, i. e. requires the statesman to be at his post and

taking his proper part. See 13, τάξει. — 8. προαίρεσιν. *Principle*, 12. Cf. also 93. — μή...συκοφάντα. *Do not be continually carping at the events*. πέρας, which follows, corresponds exactly to *exitus* and *end*. So also τέλος in the next sentence. — 193. 15. λογισμὸν. *Calculation*, i. e. forecasting of the future and preparations to meet it. — 16. ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. *With an industry above my power*; i. e. an extraordinary and amazing effort. — 17. ἐνεστησάμην. To be taken with οὐ, which belongs to the verb entirely here, not to the adjectives: *that I did not institute*. — 18. τότε ἤδη. *Tum demum: then but not before*, 47 (last note). — 194. 19. σκηπτὸς. Most MSS. add ἡ χειμῶν, but Reiske and Bremi concurred in expunging those words as a gloss. So also Dindorf. The word σκηπτός, as its etymology indicates, would equally describe a squall or a thunderbolt. The gloss would limit it to the former sense, whereas the latter is more appropriate here. With the metaphor Bremi compares χειμάρρους, 153. — 20. μέγαν. So ἐλάττων (142) in the converse meaning (Madv., 90, r. 4): *too strong for*. — 21. ὥσπερ ἄν introduces the implied answer to the question which precedes. Do just as you would in the case of the captain of the vessel, that is, not censure him, nor hold him responsible for the shipwreck when he has done all he can to prevent it. C. 662 d; H. 754. — ναύκληρον. *Ship's captain*: originally the captain was always the owner of the vessel, so that the two senses were embodied in ναύκληρος; afterwards the sense of ownership disappears, and that of seamanship, or supreme direction, predominates. — 22. σωτηρίᾳ, *for a safe voyage*. This technical sense of σώζεσθαι as applied to a ship is notorious (cf. p. 883, l. 15, etc.): so σωθήσεσθαι which immediately follows would strictly mean *to arrive safe in harbor*. — κατασκευάσαντα, *after he had fitted up*: another nautical phrase, and so σκευών (tackle) which follows. — 24. χρησάμενον, *usum*. *Having met with, or experienced*. The verb χρῶμαι, like *utor* and our word *experience*, applies to any material or influence, whether beneficial or pernicious, with which the subject is brought in contact. Cf. ἀπλοῖα χρῆσθαι. Eur., *I. A.*, 88. — πονησάντων, *labored*, in the nautical sense, i. e. *suffered*. λαΐφος ἔταν λάβη πόνος θρανομένης κεφαλῆς. Esch., *Eumen.*, 526. — 25. συντριβέντων. Another nautical phrase: *wrecked*: φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν μή ξυτρίψωσιν. Thuc., *IV.*, 11. — 26. ἐκυβέρνων. There was nothing to prevent a ναύκληρος from steering his own vessel. But the orator, of course, cites an instance where the κυβερνήτης has been left in sole charge of the helm. — 27. ὥσπερ οὐδ', *just as I too myself was*

not in command. The force of *οὐδέ* is to emphasize the parallel, where the case of a *σύμβουλος* differs from that of a *παύκληρος*: in the next sentence the cases are identical and the negative becomes *οὔτε*. See Madv., 208, B; C. 701, 1, c; Cu. 625; H. 858. — 195. P. 70, l. 3. *ἐμαρτο* sums up the effect of *τύχη*, *ὁ δαίμων*, *ὁ θεός*. — *οὔτως...πράξει*, *to fare thus*. — 4. *μηδέ*, *not even*: i. e. a different policy would have left us without *even* that advantage. — 5. *ἐκεῖνος*, sc. Philip. Æschines would have been *οὔτος*. — *ἀφῆκε*, *sent forth* letters, messages, *addresses* (literally *voices*) of every kind. Reiske and Schäfer render: nihil indictum reliquit, left nothing unsaid. Cf. 277; *οἷας τὸτ' ἠφίει φωνὰς Φίλιππος*. — 6. *ἐν τῷν*. *If, as it was, when the battle was fought three days' march from Attica.* *ὅδῳ* is constantly used to estimate distance, and *ἡμερῶν* in the next sentence, opposed to *τότε*, in the other case. — 8. *τῆς χάρας*, partitive, depending on *τοῦ*. — 10. *στήναι*, *to stand, to concentrate, to take breath, to do many things that conduced to the preservation of the state.* The asyndeton is especially vigorous, implying rapidity of thought and action at the crisis. — *καὶ δέ*. The conjunctive particle where English requires the disjunctive. 104. *μικρὰ καὶ*. — 12. *τότε δ'*. The common aposiopesis to express horror. Quintil., IX., 3, 61. — *ἃ γε μηδέ*. The negative *μή* distributes the force of the relative, to which it entirely belongs in this clause, having no reference to the verb. — 13. *παύσαν ἔσκα*. Cf. note, 107. The verb has no subject according to the reading of my text, which is Dindorf's and also that of the majority of editors. Only one MS. reads *εὐνοῖα...τά*. The rest all agree in reading *εὐνοῖα...τῶ*. Two explanations may be suggested: (1) that this is a mixture of constructions not inappropriate in a moment of agitation (Madvig, 216); (2) that we understand for the subject of *ἔδωκε* the Supreme *Δαίμων*, as in the elliptical phrases *θεῖ, νίφει, σείει κ. τ. λ.* Render: *It is not worth while to mention those things of which we have not even been suffered to undergo the experience through the kindness of some one of the gods, and by reason of the state having shielded itself with this alliance which you inveigh against.*

196-198. I ONLY DWELL ON THESE DETAILS FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF YOU WHO ARE MY HEARERS. ÆSCHINES KNOWS THEM ALL FULL WELL, AND FOR HIM I SHOULD HAVE FEW WORDS. HE IS THE VILEST AND MOST PERNICIOUS OF ALL YOUR POLITICIANS, AND, IF THINGS WERE RIGHT, NOT I, BUT HE WOULD BE THE PERSON ARRaigned BEFORE YOU THIS DAY.

196. 16. ταυτί...τὰ πολλὰ. *All this my long story.* τί τὰ πολλὰ ἀν λέγοι τις; p. 886 (*fin.*). — 17. ἔξωθεν. *Outside the bar*, or wooden railing (δρόφακτος) by which the court was surrounded. Aristoph., *Eq.*, 675, etc. — 19. ἔξηρκει, *were enough*. The same use of the imperfect and pluperfect obtains in Latin (e. g. Hor., 2 *Od.*, XVII., 28, and Verg., *Georg.*, II., 132). The imperfect without ἀν is used to denote what would be an immediate and easily foreseen consequence of anything. Cf. Madv., 118, b, where numerous examples are given. This was probably the original form of the conditional apodosis of past time, and ἀν, the particle of futurity, would come to be added to the verb merely for the sake of greater precision and exactness. C. 631, f; Cu. 542. — 22. προῖδαι. ᾗδιστα or ᾗθηστα are the more common Attic forms in the simple verb, as Whiston observes in his excellent note, citing Lobbeck (*Phryn.*, 237). — 23. τοῖς ἄλλοις depends on τῆς αὐτῆς. Madv., 37, R. 2; C. 451; Cu. 436, b; G. 186; H. 603. — 197. P. 71, l. 3. οὐ γάρ, 47 note οὐδὲν γάρ ἀν. The passage implies a high compliment to the people. — 5. τῇ πόλει. This dative belongs both to the clause which precedes it and to the clause which follows it, referring as much to τοῦτο πεποιηκώς as it does to φανλότατος and δυσμενέστατος, and being in each case *dativus incommodi*. — 7. Ἀρίστρατος. It would appear from the context that Ariststratus and Aristolaus were working for Philip's interest in their respective localities. History, however, leaves us in the dark as to their operations. The sense of κρύνουσι is the same as κρύνει in 15, and καθάπαξ resembles our colloquial phrase *out-and-out*. — 198. 11. ἐνευδοκμεῖν, *to be distinguished in*, that is, *to found a reputation upon*. The inf. may be explained as an acc. of respect (Holmes), or as an inf. of result with which ὥστε is usually expressed. Dobree notices that Ἑλλήνων...ἀπέκειτο is hexametric. — 15. θελοῖς δὲ καί, *and you show this too*. — ὦν ἔη. Cf. ὦν βεβίωκεν 130, note. — 16. οὐ πολιτεύει. Kennedy preserves the contrast aptly: *your political action and your political inaction*. — 17. ἀντέκρουσε. οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀθμῳ ἦσαν ὅτι αὐτοῖς τοῦτό τε πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει. Thuc., VI., 46. — 19. ῥήγματα καὶ σπᾶσματα. Cf. *Olynth.*, 2, p. 24. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν ἕως μὲν ἀν ἐρρωμένος ἦ τις, οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεται τῶν καθ' ἑκάστη σαθρῶν, ἐπὰν δὲ ἀρρώστημά τι συμβῇ πάντα κινεῖται, κἂν ῥήγμα κἂν στρέμμα κἂν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ᾖ. — 20. κινεῖται, *are disturbed*, i. e. the limb originally fractured or sprained gives symptoms of the old weakness returning.

199-205. SUPPOSING WE HAD ADOPTED ANY OTHER POLICY THAN THAT, SUPPOSING WE HAD DEMEANED OURSELVES TO SUBMIT TO MACEDON, HOW COULD WE HAVE FACED THE DISGRACE OF OUR POSITION? HOW COULD A NATION LIKE OURS WITH ITS SPIRIT AND TRADITIONS AND RENOWN HAVE ENDURED SUCH A DEGRADATION? SURELY IN OUR ESTIMATION DEATH IS BETTER THAN DISHONOR.

199. 21. *ἐγκέτα*, *incumbit in*: *lays great stress upon*: cf. sup. *μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει*, 192. *πολὺς* is used in the same way (adverbially) by Herodotus, VII., 158, and Thucydides, IV., 22. — 24. *εἰ γάρ*, i. e. if all had been going on as Æschines falsely represents it to have been. On the imperfect tenses, cf. 9, note. — 27. *ὅς*. *You who did not so much as make a sound, did not even open your mouth.* — *οὐδ' οὕτως*. *Not even then ought the city to have abandoned this course, if it had any regard for its honor, or its forefathers, or its future.* By *τούτων* is clearly meant *προσέταται τῶν ἄλλων*, 200. — 200. P. 72, l. 2. *ἀποτυχεῖν*, *to have failed*: a good instance of the aorist retaining its preterite sense in the infinitive mood. *Madv.*, 172, a. — 4. *ἔξωδσα*, *while claiming continually to be the leader of others*, i. e. to lead the rest of Greece in their opposition to Philip. Observe the difference between the imperfect in *ἔξωδσα* and the aorist in *ἀποστᾶσα*, the former denoting a continued, and the latter a momentary action. — 7. *προέειπε*. Pluperf. midd. *had she thrown away*. The adverb *ἀκοντί*, *without a struggle*, occurs in Thuc., IV., 73, *καὶ αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἀκοντί τὴν νίκην δικαίως ἀντίθεσθαι*. *Vocabulum ex palæstra desumptum*. BREMI. — *οὐδένα...* *οὐχ*, *every conceivable peril*. On *οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ*, see *Madv.*, 105, b, B. — 9. *μὴ γάρ*. Subin. *εἴπω*: i. e. you, Æschines, would alone have been to blame; not the state; not I; heaven forefend I should name either as responsible. A similar ellipse of *εἴπω* in the phrase *μὴ ὅτι* has been already noticed. The genitives *πόλεως*, *ἐμοῦ* are, of course, governed by *κατέκρινεν*. — 201. 10. *ἐπαρώμεν ἄν*. *With what face, pray, could we have looked on any one visiting our city, had matters converged to their present crisis, and Philip been elected leader and lord of all, and had the struggle to prevent this been fought by others without ourselves, and that though our state has never yet, in all her former ages, preferred dishonorable safety to peril for the sake of honor?* The whole sentence from *εἰ τὰ τοιαῦτα* is one sustained protasis, of which, however, there are two branches, slightly distinct, the first ending with *ἀπάντων*, and the *δέ* of *τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ* answering to the *μὲν* of *τὰ μὲν*: i. e. the facts are

put as the first consideration, the omissions are put as the second. — 202. 18. *τις...Ἑλλήνων, τις...βαρβάρων*, i. e. who in the wide world. — 19. *Θηβαίων*, whose supremacy extended, from the date of Leuctra to that of Mantinea (18), nine years. — *πρότερον*, i. e. between the establishment of the Thirty, and the battle of Leuctra; thirty-three years. — 20. *Περσῶν*. Tracing history backwards he arrives at the strong point of Athenian history, the period of the Persian wars. Disson cites in illustration here Herod., VIII., 136–144; IX., 1–5; and *Philipp.*, II., p. 68. — 21. *χάριτος*. That is, they would have been thankful to secure at any sacrifice the resignation by Athens of her post as the champion of Greece, it being assumed that the strength of Greece in reality depended solely on the fact of the Athenian supremacy. — 22. *βούλεται*. The indicative again in an historic consecution. *Madv.*, 130, b. The primary tense is here also the more vigorous. — *λαβοῦσθ*. *That she should take whatever she pleased, retaining also whatever she possessed, provided she would submit to dictation, and allow some other power to hold the supremacy of Hellas.* A striking example of the participial clause dominating over the principal clause to which it is in form subordinate (*Madv.*, 176, b). We must notice *λαβοῦσθ*, the aorist, of single acquisition, *ἐχούσθ*, the imperfect, of permanent possession. Cf. *ἀξιούσα* and *ἀποστᾶσα*, 200. By *τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν* is meant simply a state of submission and subjection, the exact opposite of *προεστάναι*. So again 204. — 203. 25. *πάτρια*, *national*: i. e. the feelings which the Athenians, as a nation, inherited from their forefathers. — 27. *μὴ δίκαια*. The negative is *μὴ* to make the designation indefinite and hypothetical. C. 686; Cu. 618; G. 283, 5; H. 840. It is trajected from its ordinary position (immediately after *δέ*) in order to keep it close to *δίκαια*. Translate: *those who are powerful, it is true, but who do what is wrong.* — P. 73, l. 1. *προσθεμένην* denotes the manner or means, *by attaching herself to.* — 2. *ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη*, *but in her struggle for pre-eminence, for honor, for glory, she has persistently imperilled herself through her whole history.* *ἀγωνιζέσθαι*, of a severe and protracted effort, as in 20. *αἰῶνα* accusative of duration of time. — 3. *διατετέλεκε*, cf. C. 677, e; Cu. 590; H. 798; G. 279, note. — 204. 5. *ἦθεσιν*, *character* as the result of manners and habits. *ἦθος* = a prolonged and strengthened *ἔθος*. *ἡ δὲ ἠθικὴ ἐξ ἔθους περιγίνεται*, *θθεν καὶ τοῦνομα ἐσχηκε μικρὸν παρεκκλίνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθους*. *Aristot., Eth.*, II., 1. — 7. *ἀγάσαιτο*. *Who would not admire the valor of those heroes?* It is pretty clear, as Disson remarks, whom the

orator intends for the Themistocles of his own period, and whom for the Cyrailus. — 8. *καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν*, *not only their territory, but even their city*. — 10. *τὸ καλούμενον*, i. e. to submit to the terms dictated by Persia. — 12. *ἀποφηνόμενον*. We have had the full phrase *ἀποφαίναται γνώμη*, 189. — 13. *Κυρσίλον*. A question arises here on a small historical point. Is this Cyrailus the same person whom Herodotus (IX., 5) calls Lycidas? If not, there was a singular coincidence in the fate of these two unfortunate men. Each of them is represented as having advocated submission to Persia, and being stoned to death in consequence. But the dates differ. The death of Cyrailus, according to the orator, took place when the Athenians had only just resolved to abandon Athens and take to their wooden walls. The death of Lycidas, according to Herodotus, took place immediately after the capture of Athens by Mardonius, who then made overtures of peace to the Athenian government who were with the fleet at Salamis. This difference of date is almost conclusive against the identity of the two cases. And surely it is very possible that in this exciting year there were two victims to the patriotic fury of the populace, both of whom died under exactly similar circumstances. The first case would be only too likely to serve as a precedent for the second. Cicero clearly accepts it as a true history, judging by his context in the *De Off.*, III., 11, 48. The commentators, however, generally consider the two cases as one, with a discrepancy in the names. — 14. *τὴν γυναῖκα*. In the case of Lycidas not only the wife but the children also were murdered. Herod. (*l. c.*). — 205. 16. *δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς*, *who would secure them a comfortable slavery*. Here the indicative again in the historic consecution adds to the force of the picture. So also *ἐξέσται* in the following clause. Besides adding to the vivacity, the indicatives here “identify the Athenians of the two different ages, and represent the liberty and independence of one epoch as the unbroken continuity of the freedom asserted in another.” WHISTON. — 18. *οὐχὶ τῷ πατρί*. Cf. [Platonis] *Epist.*, IX. (translated by Cicero, *De Off.*, I., 7, 22), *ἐκαστος ἑμῶν οὐχ αὐτῷ μόνον γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν τι ἡ πατρίδι μερίζεται, τὸ δὲ τι οἱ γεννησάντες, τὸ δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι*. BREMI. — 22. *περιμέλει*. *Awaits his appointed and natural end: εἰμαρμένης*, as distinct from suicide; *αὐτόματον* as distinct from death by external violence. — *καὶ τῇ πατρίδι*, sc. *γενεῖσθαι νομίζων*, *while the other deeming himself born for his country also*. — 23. *ἐπιδεῖν* in its very frequent sense of

living to see evil. *Æsch.*, *Ag.*, 1246, *Soph.*, *Trach.*, 1206, etc. — 24. τὰς...ἀτιμίας, the outrages and indignities. Observe the emphatic position of τοῦ θανάτου = death itself. WHISTON.

206-210. SUCH HAS BEEN ALWAYS YOUR SPIRIT. I DO NOT PRETEND THAT I INSPIRED IT, BUT I DO MAINTAIN THAT I MINISTERED TO IT MOST EFFECTIVELY. IF YOU CONDEMN MY FRIEND, YOU CONDEMN YOUR OWN CONDUCT AT THAT PERIOD. YOU ATTRIBUTE YOUR FAILURE TO MISJUDGMENT, NOT TO MISFORTUNE. BUT OH! BY THE MEMORY OF OUR ANCESTORS, YOUR CONDUCT WAS RIGHT BEYOND QUESTION. IT WAS PERIL FOR THE SAKE OF FREEDOM. THE IDEA OF *ÆSCHINES* SPEAKING AS HE DID ABOUT NATIONAL TROPHIES AND HONORS, AND THEN EXPECTING THAT YOUR STATESMEN SHOULD DIRECT YOU OTHERWISE THAN WAS WORTHY OF THESE PAST TRIUMPHS! IN PUBLIC LIFE WE ARE ALL OF US BOUND TO FOLLOW THE FOOTSTEPS OF OUR NOBLE FOREFATHERS, AND TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR NATIONAL SPIRIT. YOU, GENTLEMEN, IN YOUR JUDICIAL CAPACITY FEEL THIS, I AM SURE, AS I DO, AND ACT UPON IT WITHOUT FAIL.

206. P. 74, l. 3. ὑμετέρας. The predicate is put first for the sake of emphasis. — 5. τῆς μέντοι διακονίας. In the execution, however, of every single thing that has been done, I say that I also have had a share. On the primary sense of ἐντὶ see 17 : here we might render it connected with. — 207. 6. τῶν δλων. The entire business, i. e. both τὰς προαιρέσεις and τὰ πεπραγμένα, both our policy and its execution. τοῖς δλοις 39. — 9. τιμῆς. My honor, sc. τοῦ στεφάνου. — 10. ἐγκώμια. Your triumphs. Aristotle (*Rhet.*, I., 9) defines ἐγκώμιον as special laudation bestowed for particular and brilliant actions, ἔπαινος signifying praise in general. — τῆς μὲν...τὰ δ'. These particles mark and emphasize the comparison between the less injury done to the orator and the greater wrong inflicted on his country : seeks to deprive me, indeed, of my honor for the present, but robs you of your triumphs for all future time. — 12. τοῦδ'. If you condemn my friend Ctesiphon, on the plea that I have not advised our state for the best, you will adjudge yourselves to have done wrong, and not to have suffered those results merely through the perverseness of fortune. He means that in condemning his policy and action they would practically condemn their own, as he had been merely the mouthpiece and instrument of the national will. Thus their failures would be deserved, not accidental. On the participial construction see Madvig, 175, 176. With ἀγνωμοσύνη Schäfer compares *Soph.*, *O. C.*, 86 : Φοίβω τε κάμωι μὴ γένησθ' ἀγνώ-

μοι: also p. 1468, l. 15. In *δέξασθαι* here there is much of the technical meaning to be formally decreed which *δοκεῖν* so often possesses. — 208. 17. *προκινδυνεύσαντας*. *Who bore the brunt*. The compound *προ-* is of locus here, i. e. the forefront of the battle. The expression is probably adopted from Thucydides (I., 73), who says that, we alone, sc. the Athenians, at Marathon bore the brunt of battle with the barbarian, *προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ*. This apostrophe is deservedly admired by Longinus (c. 16), Hermogenes (p. 260), Aristides (p. 170), Quintilian, XI., 3, etc. — 18. *παραταξαμένους*. *Who stood in the ranks*: Thuc., I., 29. It has been well observed by all critics that the orator carefully avoids in this description any allusion to the victories of Marathon, Plataea, etc. He is citing examples, not of success, but of intrepidity, else of course his parallel would fail. And he justifies his parallel most happily by the words at the close of this sentence *οὐδ' ἀπαντας... μόνους*. See Longinus, l. c., Lord Brougham (Works VII., 124), Whiston in loc., et al. — 20. *μνήμασι*. *Τιθέασιν οὖν ἐν τῷ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως* (the Ceramicus) *καὶ δεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων*. Thuc., II., 34. He excepts the heroes of Marathon who were buried on the spot where they fell. — 24. *δικαίως*. Cf. *εἰκότως* 23. — 209. 27. *γραμματοκῆφον*. Derived, according to *Etym. Mag.*, either from *κυφός* (*οἱ οὖν γραμματεῖς προκεκυφότες γράφουσιν*) or else from *κύφων* the pillory (*ἐπεὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι τῷ κύφῳι μαστιγοῦνται*)! We have no English equivalent. Perhaps *you scribbling scoundrel* would be sufficiently abusive. — P. 75, l. 2. *ἄλλες*. *Æschines*, p. 79 sq. *πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ στρατηγῆσας ὅτε τὴν περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίαν τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐνίκητε, ἢ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὰς τάξεις λεγών; κ. τ. λ.* — *ὧν*, i. e. they were, he alleges, irrelevant in the present action against Ctesiphon. *And yet what of these were required for the present trial?* — *τίνας*. We must resolve this, in English, into an interrogative principal sentence, *Madv.*, 198, a. — 4. *τὸν παρ'*. *And I who was coming forward to advise the state about her supremacy, in whose spirit ought I to have mounted the Bema?* *The spirit of a man who would say what was unworthy of the past?* *πρωτεῶν*, i. e. to suggest a policy by which she should retain her primacy, 66. The masculine gender of *τίνας* is clear from the context. The gender of *τούτων* is neuter, and it must include the notion of *τρόπαια, μάχας, κ. τ. λ.* which he has specified above. So Holmes. But Westermann, Whiston, Kennedy, Leland, and the commentators generally, take it to be masculine, and

refer it to the Athenians, *unworthy of the people*. — 210. 7. *δικαίως*. *Nay, but I should not have been fit to live; strictly, I should have deserved to be executed*. We have to supply *εἰ φρόνημα τοιοῦτον ἔλαβον*. — *ὑμᾶς, τοὺς δικαστάς* as distinct from himself *τὸν σύμβουλον*. — 8. *ἀπὸ*. *Starting from*, i. e. in: *διανοίας spirit*. — 9. *τὰ μὲν*. *But to judge the affairs* (lit. *contracts, συμβόλαια*) *of every-day life, on the one hand with a view (σκοποῦντας) to special laws and acts, but public measures on the other hand looking only, etc.* *συμβόλαια* is object of *κρίνειν*. — *Ἰδίῳν*. *Special*. In ordinary cases, civil or criminal, they would be bound to form their decision according to the definite statutes of their code, applied to each individual case. But in a political trial they might frame their sentence according to traditional spirit and precedent, rather than by any letter of written law. The orator's drift is clear. He wishes the jury to overlook the formal illegality of Ctesiphon's proposal, in consideration of the great political services which that proposal was intended to remunerate. — 12. *ἀποβλέποντας*. Observe the force of the preposition, *looking back, or looking away*. *ἀξιώματα* = *worthy examples*, strictly, the obligations imposed by the illustrious deeds of their ancestors. Compare Whiston's note. — 13. *τῇ βακτηρίᾳ*. *His staff and his ticket*, i. e. his official paraphernalia. On the *staff* which each dicast received was painted the letter indicating the court in which he was to serve. The *ticket* he delivered to the prytanes after the sitting, and thus received his fee of three obols. See Dic. of Ant., Dicastery, and Dicasts.

211, 212. BUT I HAVE BEEN DIGRESSING AND MUST NOW SUPPLY AN OMISSION. YOU MUST TAKE THE LETTER WE WROTE AS YOUR AMBASSADORS AT THEBES. ÆSCHINES GIVES ME NO CREDIT FOR OUR DIPLOMATIC SUCCESSES, BUT ONLY FOR OUR MILITARY FAILURES. YET WITH THE LATTER I HAD NOTHING TO DO, AND WITH THE FORMER EVERYTHING.

211. 17. *Ἀλλὰ γάρ*. 42. On *ἔστιν* & see Madv., 102, b., and Liddell and Scott's Lex. — 19. *ἐπὶθεν*, i. e. *ἐκείσε ἐπὶθεν* 66. — 22. *τῶν ἄλλων*. Puta Ænianorum, Dolopum, Phthiotarum, Ætolorum. DISSEN. — 23. *πρέσβεις*. See Plutarch's *Vita Demosth.*, c. 18. Amyn-tas and Clearchus are named as the Macedonian envoys. — 25. *νῦν*. At this present moment (while the story told at the time of the embassy was very different). He appeals to the records of the actual period to confirm him. — 212. 27. *καίτοι*. *And, I assure you, my opponent has adopted such an extravagance of calumny that, if, on the one*

hand. any of our objects was achieved, he says it was thanks to opportunity not to me. Cf. *Æsch. c. Ctes.*, 141, p. 76, l. 1. On *ὥστε* with the indicative see 33, 120, and on *ἐτέρας* see 85. *ὥς* adds emphasis=*quite otherwise*, strictly as different as possible. C. 711; Cu. 631; H. 664. — P. 76, l. 6. *συναιτίας*, i. e. he does not give me credit for even a share in the good, while he imputes to me the whole of the evil. *συναυτίας* 64. Render: *so it seems I, the counsellor and orator, am judged by him to have no share in any of the results of argument and counsel, but to be the sole author of the misfortunes that have attended our arms and strategy.* — **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.** At this point the forgers' ingenuity or perseverance would seem to have been exhausted, and to the great relief both of reader and commentator we are troubled with no more spurious documents in the rest of the oration.

213-217. THE ASSEMBLY WAS HELD: THE ALLIES OF PHILIP SPOKE FIRST; WE MADE OUR REPLY. I NEED NOT WEARY YOU WITH DETAILS. THEBES ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSAL AND CALLED UPON US TO AID THEM. THEY COULD NOT HAVE PAID US A HIGHER HONOR. AND WE ACTED WITH THEBES THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN IN A MANNER WHICH SHOWED WE DESERVED THAT HONOR. REMEMBER OUR PUBLIC REJOICINGS AT THE TIME. DID *ÆSCHINES* TAKE HIS PART IN THEM? THEN WHAT DOES HE MEAN BY HIS PRESENT DENUNCIATION? DID HE TAKE NO PART IN THOSE PUBLIC REJOICINGS? THEN WHAT A WRETCH HE MUST HAVE BEEN!

213. 11. *ἐποιήσαντο*, sc. the Thebans. — 12. *ἐκείνους*, the ambassadors of Philip and the Thessalians. — 16. *τὸ δ' ὅν.* And in fine they required them to show their gratitude for the benefits they had received from Philip and to take satisfaction for the wrongs which they had received from you. *κεφάλαιον* is another adverbial accusative, *Madv.*, 31, d; *Cr.* 483; *Cu.* 404; *G.* 160; *H.* 552. The imperfect *ἔξιον* refers to the whole tenor of their speech; as also *ἐδημηγόρουν* above. — 19. *ὁποτέρως*. They demanded either that Thebes should join in the invasion, or at any rate that they should give the invaders free passage. They promised a share of the spoil in either event, and threatened the devastation of Boeotia in any other. — *διέντας* and *συναμβαλόντας* agree with *αὐτοῖς* in the previous line and denote the two ways, either of which they (the Thebans) may choose. — 21. *ἐκ τῆς*, i. e. *plundered from*. *Constructio prægnaus*. C. 704; *H.* 618, a. — 23. *ἐκ δὲ ὧν...ἐφασαν*, while as the result of what they said we should advise, property in Boeotia would be plundered by the war. *τὰ...διαρπασθη-*

σόμενα, like βοσκήματα...ἤξοντα is governed by ἐδείκνυσαν. — P. 77, l. 1. συντείνοντ'. *All aiming at the same result.* — 214. 2. ἀντελπομεν. Absent from Σ, but found in all the other MSS. Its ellipsis, though quite grammatical, would not at all improve the sentence. — ἐγὼ μὲν. *I myself would give my very life to repeat.* The transposition of τοῦ βίου is for the sake of emphasis. The meanings of ἀντί seem to pass through the following steps, (1) over against, (2) a counterbalance, (3) an equivalent, (4) a substitute. — 4. ὑμᾶς with δέδουκα is emphatic for ὑμεῖς with νομίσθητε. μή is *lest* governing νομίσθητε. — 5. κατακλυσμέν. *A deluge had swept over the events*, i. e. all sign and trace of them had been obliterated: on ὥσπερ ἀν' εἰ see Madv., 139, c; C. 622, d; H. 754. — 215. 9. Μερὲ ταῦτα. With this we must compare throughout the corresponding passage of Æschines (pp. 73–75) where he represents that the Thebans begged for the aid and alliance of Athens, simply under the pressure of their alarm at the seizure of Elatea by Philip, and prior to “a single syllable of any decree being proposed by Demosthenes.” The Athenians then having marched in force to Thebes, Philip, according to Æschines, was afraid to continue the war, and wished to make peace. So, he says, did the Thebans: and the latter requested the Athenian troops to retire to Athens, and the Ecclesia to be convened for discussion of Philip's proposal. It was only at this later Ecclesia, says Æschines, that Demosthenes urged the policy of carrying on the war against Philip, and over-persuaded the Thebans into the same course, for fear the latter should make peace independently, and get pay from Philip for doing so, from which pecuniary benefit Demosthenes would be excluded. Perhaps Æschines believed all this when he said it; the historical records of the period seem to have been in the greatest confusion; and it was impossible to prove distinctly why or when Thebes joined with Athens against Macedon. But the account given by Demosthenes in the description of that Ecclesia (169 sq. Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν) is so circumstantial, and appeals so directly to the memory of those amongst his hearers who had been present on that great occasion, that if he had not been speaking the truth, exposure and ruin must have followed. In explanation of this confusion in the facts and of the discrepancy between the orators, it will be remembered that eight years had elapsed between the battle of Chæronea and the delivery of the speeches on the Crown, and a still longer interval (it is not known how long) between that battle and the revised edition

of Æschines's speech. Whiston agrees with Dissen that Æschines's statements, so far as they differ from the narrative of Demosthenes, were inserted in the revised edition, and are "manifesta mendacia." — 10. **ἔγγε, ἰσθηθεῖτε.** This simple asyndeton is much admired by Bremi, as descriptive of rapid action. — 11. **ὁπλιτῶν.** The *Thelun* infantry and cavalry were encamped outside, while the Athenian forces were admitted within the walls. The compliment to Athens is obvious, and the nature of the confidence so displayed receives illustration from the sentence *eis τὰς οἰκίας...τμώματα*. Dissen objects to this the absence of the proper pronouns, *their* and *your*. But the articles take the place of the pronouns and emphasize the distinction which is evident from the connection. Render: *while their infantry and their cavalry were without the walls they received your army*, etc. — 15. **πᾶσιν.** *In the eyes of all mankind.* Dative of relation, Madv., *G. S.*, 35. — **καθ'.** *Upon.* A good example of *κατὰ* without its sense of hostility preceding the genitive case (cf. 17 note). So p. 135, *μέγιστον καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον*. — 20. **πᾶσι δ'.** The particle *δέ* connects the sentence *καίτοι...ἔδειξαν* with the sentence *καὶ γὰρ...Φιλίππου*. As examples of *δέ* standing further on in a sentence than its usual place of second word the Lexica all quote Soph., *El.*, 1117; Xen., *Hellen.*, V., 2, 37, etc. The translation of *καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ* thus becomes, *both with them and*. — 22. **σωφροσύνης.** *Showed they had confidence in you, as regarded your morality* The Greek is literally *belief in morality as regarded you*. No single English word can render *σωφροσύνης*. Whiston translates it *self-command*, and Kennedy *good behavior*. The connection shows that *self-command* is especially intended, although something more is also comprehended. — 24. **ἐφάνησαν,** *were shown* by the facts in the case. — 216. P. 78, l. 3. **μάχας.** Accusative of time, Madv., *G. S.*, 30. Others take it as a sort of cognate accusative, Madv., 26, a; C. 477; Cu. 400; G. 159; H. 547. — **τοῦ ποταμοῦ.** The Cephissus. The first battle was fought in the valley of the Cephissus between Elatea and Thebes. — 4. **χειμερινήν.** *In the winter*, according to Grote, who supposes a ten months' interval between October of 339 and August of 338. On the other hand Thirlwall prefers to render *of the storm*. The Lexica all concur in asserting that this latter idea would in Attic be usually expressed by *χειμέριος*, not by *χειμερινός*, which generally beyond question means *in the winter*. In the great obscurity of the history concerning this period, it is quite impossible to settle such minor details with precision. I prefer the

view of Grote, as being the best in regard to the language here, and also quite consistent with the other history. But I cordially agree with Reiske also when he says, "hæc tanti non est querere. Quod sciri nequit de eo ne querendum quidem est. Multa sunt in vetustis auctoribus obscura quæ nulla vis ingenii, nulla investigandi industria, nulla dies unquam aperiet."—217. 9. ζήλου. *Bliss.* ολας λατρείας ἀνθ' ὧν ζήλου τρέφει. *Soph., Aj.*, 503. So Holmes. Better, *emulation*, or *admiration*.—13. ἐξητάζοντο. *Was proved to have been along with the rest*, i. e. taking a share in the general rejoicings.—14. μᾶλλον...δοῖα, or, rather, *does he not act impiously even*.—15. εἰ ὧν...θεούς, *if what he himself called the gods to witness as being most excellent, this he now expects you to condemn as not most excellent, you who have sworn by those gods*, sc. the very gods to whom he then appealed for just the opposite.—μάργυρας, i. e. by means of the *θυσίαι καὶ πομπαί* 17. He means that nothing can more effectively put a national success on record than the circumstance that it has been the subject of national thanksgiving to heaven.—16. ψηφίσασθαι, i. e. by condemning Ctesiphon they would condemn the orator's policy and its results, among which would be included the particular triumph referred to here.—17. ὁμωμοκότας. τὸν ὄρκον 2.—εἰ δὲ μή. The dilemma is merely rhetorical, as Lord Brougham well observes; Æschines could easily have answered that he saw the fallacy of those rejoicings, though no one else at Athens did so; that therefore he declined to share them, and stayed at home in seclusion and sorrow. At the same time, his Lordship admires the rhetorical excellence of the dilemma and the exquisite beauty and force of the passage.

218. SO THEBES AND OURSELVES WERE REJOICING AND GIVING THANKS: AND PHILIP WAS IN A STATE OF ALARM AS HIS LETTERS PROVE. THIS WAS ALL MY DOING.

218. 21. ἡμεν ἐν. *We were full of thanksgivings.* The preposition of place introduces the *status in quo*.—22. νομίζαν. *Belief*: the awkwardness of the construction is redeemed by its antithetic success.—*περισσῆκεν.* *It had come about that those who seemed likely to need succor, owing to the conduct of these men, were themselves sending succor to others in consequence of following my counsels.* There is no difference of translation between ἀφ' ὧν and ἐξ ὧν in this sentence; the change is merely for variety.—25. ἡφία. The double augment is peculiarly Attic. "In Demosthene id deesse nusquam notavi." BREMI.—*φωνάς.* *Strong expressions.* Cf. *πάσαν, τὸ λεγόμενον, φωνῆν λέγτα,*

Plato, 890, D, 530, etc. Cf. 222. — P. 79, l. 4. *συντήχεια*. *Persistence; pertinacity*. From the context, which is sarcastic, we must rather take the word in its bad sense. — *πλάνοι*. *Rowings*, i. e. *πρεσβείαι*: the derisive tone is very marked both in this and the two next phrases. — *ταλαιπωρία*. *Tribulations*. — *τὰ πολλὰ*. *Those numerous*. Cf. *τὰ πολλὰ γράμματα*, Act. Apost., xxvi., 24, where the same irony is underlying. These nominatives are the subjects of *ἀπειργάσατο*, which is singular to agree with the neuter plural *ψηφίσματα*, and to sum them all up together = *what it all accomplished*.

219-221. ATHENS HAS HAD A HOST OF GOOD STATESMEN BESIDES MYSELF, BUT NEVER ONE WHO WORKED SO HARD OR DEVOTED HIMSELF SO ENTIRELY. NOT THAT I HAD ANY EXTRAVAGANT OPINION OF MY OWN POWER. BUT I THOUGHT THE CRISIS EXACTED THE UTMOST PERSONAL EFFORTS, AND THAT NO ONE'S PERSONAL EFFORTS COULD BE MORE EFFECTUAL THAN MINE.

219. 7. *πολλοί*. Compare the exactly parallel passage, p. 436, l. 12, *De F. L.* — *ἐκείνος*, *that famous*. C. 542, b. — 9. *Καλλίστρατος*. *μετὰ Καλλίστρατον τὸν Ἀφιδναῖον τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι*, *Æschin.*, p. 44 (*med.*). Mentioned as an exile endeavoring to return illegally in Demosthenes *adv. Polycl.*, p. 1221. Honorably mentioned by the orator, pp. 1187, 1353, 1359, if those orations are genuine. Cf. *Plut.*, *Dem.*, 5. Libanius (*Vit Dem.*, p. 503) says that the orator when a boy heard Callistratus speak on the Oropus question, and thence conceived his own passion for rhetoric and public speaking. — *Ἀριστοφῶν*, 70. — *Κίφαλος*. A leading statesman in the political crisis of 403. Although so prominent, he seems to have never committed himself, 351. *Æschines* speaks of him with enthusiasm, p. 81. So does *Dinarchus*, pp. 95, 100. — *Θρασύβουλος*. The hero of the revolution in 403. *Dinarch.*, p. 93 (*med.*); *Lys.*, p. 124; *Isocr.*, p. 375 (*fin.*); *Æschin.*, p. 82, etc. All the Attic orators concur in the praises of this *Θρασύβουλος* (*Δίκου Στειριεύς*). There were four Thrasymbuli in the same period, but no other of the same reputation. We need have no doubt as to which of the four the orator speaks of here. — 11. *εἰς οὐδέν*. Closely connected with *διὰ παντός*. Whatever movement they took up they did not (so the orator alleges) persevere in supporting it through every phase and department, as he professes to have done himself. — 12. *ἀν ἐπρεσβευσεν*. Frequentative: like our idiom *would not*, though literally *would not have*. Cf. *Aristoph.*, *Pax*, 640-644. — 13. *ἐπέλεπε*. *Al-*

ways reserved for himself. The *ὅτι*-describes the *underlying* motive. The force of the imperfect is here strongly marked. A parallel expression is in Æschin., p. 41 (*fin.*), αὐτοῖς κατέλιπον τὴν ἀναφορὰν. — 14. ἀμα μὲν...ἀμα δ', *at once...and, or not only...but also.* — ἀναφορὰν. *Resource, something to fall back upon.* — 220. 17. οὕτως. *So thoroughly:* referring, I think, to the whole sentence, though Whiston limits it to μέγας, as in 163. — 19. χώραν. *To allow any place or even forethought for my personal safety.* χώρα seems to be very rare in this sense. The Lexica only quote Aristot., *H. A.*, X., 3. 4, χώρα παρέχειν (*locum dare*), which is not an exact parallel. The orator means that he did not give his personal safety a thought, or reserve himself any avenue of escape from the consequences; that he risked all without exception. — 20. ἀγαπητόν. *Must be thankful if one could do one's duty without a single omission*, i. e. man's sole aim at that crisis should have been to do his duty thoroughly, reckless of personal considerations, and then to take the consequences be they what they might. And a man should have been thankful even to have the opportunity of so doing his duty; whatever the personal peril which might be involved in the deed. Others take ἀ δεῖ πράξειν *to meet his fate*, but, I think, not so well. — 221. 22. τυχόν. *It may be; perhaps.* Adv. Acc., Madvig, *G. S.*, 182; C. 483; Cu. 401; G. 160; H. 552. — 23. μήτε γράφοντ', κ. τ. λ. The participle here and in the following clauses denotes the condition: *neither if he proposed measures would any one propose them better, nor if he tried* (imperf., C. 594; Cu. 489; G. 200; H. 702) *to execute them*, etc. βέλτιον is to be supplied with πράξει. — 26. ἑταίρον. *I always in everything put myself at the post.* For ἐν πάσῃ we should rather expect ἐπὶ πάντα according to the usual construction of ῥάσσειν: but the sense is not altered, for we supply the ἐπὶ out of the proleptic ἐν.

222. SUCH WAS THE RESULT OF MY POLICY. FOR THIS IT WAS RIGHTLY PROPOSED THAT I SHOULD RECEIVE A CROWN.

P. 80, l. 1. Εἰς ταῦτα, *to such a state.* — 2. ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, *such the voice he uttered, although accustomed to vaunt.* The participle is concessive. The middle voice expresses the personal motive from which boasting must proceed. — 4. ἐστεφανούμην. *Was to be crowned.* On this use of the imperfect, see Madv., *G. S.*, 113, r. 1; C. 594; Cu. 489; G. 200, N. 2; H. 702. — 5. γραψάμενος. *Who indicted the proposers* (Demomeles and Hyperides; see 82, δευτέρου). The full phrase would have been ὁ γραψάμενος τὸν Δ. καὶ τὸν Ὑ. παρὰ νόμον.

On γραφή, cf. 3, note ελεῖν. — 6. Διώνδα. Διώνδου μανία, 249. — τὸ μέρος, 103, and 82 ἀτιμώσαντες. — 7. ἀποπεφυγότα. Which were then legally confirmed, lit. acquitted. He means that they passed through the ordeal of a public prosecution against their proposer, and as he was acquitted, their justice and correctness were thoroughly vindicated.

223 - 226. WHY DID NOT ÆSCHINES OPPOSE THIS DECREE WHICH WAS IDENTICAL IN TERMS WITH CTESIPHON'S? BECAUSE HE KNEW HE HAD NO CHANCE OF GETTING A VERDICT ON THE FACTS AS LONG AS THE FACTS WERE FRESH IN PEOPLE'S MEMORIES. HIS ONLY CHANCE WAS TO WAIT TILL THE FACTS HAD BEEN FORGOTTEN, AND THEN TO CONCOCT A FRAUDULENT PROSECUTION DEPENDING ON QUIBBLES OF LAW AND RHETORIC.

223. 13. τότε. For the date, see 82. — 15. μᾶλλον εἰκότως, with more reason. — 16. τόνδ'. My friend here: deictic. So τῷδε = my client. He means, that to prosecute Ctesiphon, after omitting to prosecute those who had done exactly the same already, was an irrational proceeding. Whether Ctesiphon's act was right or wrong, at all events it had precedents. If he was to be prosecuted now, why were not the former offenders prosecuted in their time? — 224. 17. ἀνενεγκέν is exactly the Latin *referre ad* and our own *refer to* (as precedents). — γνώσας. The decision pronounced in the Demomeles case. No other is meant. The plural only introduces the idea of the abstract. — 18. αὐτόν. If Demomeles was prosecuted, at any rate it was not Æschines who was the prosecutor. Why does he bring an action now, whereas he did not bring any then? — 20. πρᾶχθέντων. Settled: like our colloquial use of *done*. He claims that the verdict on his policy was pronounced once for all in the Demomeles case, and that the question cannot be reopened legally. — 21. αὐτό. The actual fact would have been tried *per se*, before it had contracted any of these precedents. The bare question, whether Demosthenes was a good statesman or not, would have been put before the court, without legal or rhetorical complication. — 225. 23. οὐκ ἦν. There was no opportunity or it was not possible. — P. 81, l. 1. ἐκλέξαντα has for its object the sentence ἀ μῆτε — ῥηθῆναι; but this sentence represents also the cognate accusative after διαβάλλειν. Translate: picking out what no one knew before, nor supposed would be said to-day, to calumniate them, by changing dates and substituting false motives for action instead of the true ones, to appear to speak to the purpose. — τι λέγειν is the opposite of οὐδέν λέγειν. Compare our *something to say* and *nothing to say*. Plato is particularly

fond of these phrases. — 3. *προφάσεις*. Very nearly *motives* in our common use of that word. — 5. *πεπραγμένοις* is the dative of the remote object after *μεταθέτω*. — 226. 6. *τῆς ἀληθείας*. 17 first note. The article adds to the emphasis: *the truth par excellence*; i. e. *real truth, absolute truth*: *μόνον οὐκ, only not = all but, almost*. — 9. *παρ' αὐτά*, 13, note, s. v. — 10. *ῥητόρων ἀγώνα*. *An oratorical arena*. Whiston aptly cites Thucyd., III., 67. — 12. *λόγου κρίσιν*. *A decision on power of speaking*. This objective use of the genitive is well illustrated in Madv., *G. S.*, 48.

227-231. I MUST NOTICE HERE AN INGENIOUS SOPHISM OF MY OPPONENT'S. HE SAYS YOU OUGHT TO CAST UP MY SERVICES AND REWARDS ARITHMETICALLY, AND SEE WHETHER THERE IS ANY BALANCE IN MY FAVOR; OR RATHER, HE SAYS, YOU WILL SEE THERE IS NONE. NOW I DENY ALTOGETHER THAT PUBLIC SERVICES CAN BE TREATED LIKE SUMS IN ARITHMETIC. BUT YOU MAY SET FACTS AGAINST FACTS, SET WHAT HAPPENED AGAINST WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR ME. I AM QUITE CONTENT TO ABIDE BY THAT CALCULATION.

227. 14. *φησὶ*. It is indispensable to quote in full the passage of Æschines here referred to, viz., p. 62, 59: *εἰ δέ τιςιν ὑμῶν ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, κείτωσ τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε ἀκρόασι, ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεζόμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς. ἐρχόμεθα δὴ που ψευδεῖς οἰκοῦν ἐνίοτε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴν ὁ λόγος συγκεφαλαιωθῇ, οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἔστω οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ ἐπιτεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὃ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῇ. οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασι ποιήσασθε*. — 15. *οἰκοῦν... ἀμελήσαι*, *to forget the opinion concerning us which you have brought from home*. The phraseology, it will be seen, is borrowed from Æschines. — 17. *λογίζησθε*. *Cast up accounts under the impression that a man has a balance*. The commentators differ as to the question whether the illustration is drawn from the auditing of official accounts by the *Λογισταί*, or from the settling of accounts in trade and at the bank; Holmes, Kennedy, and others insisting on the former, Dissen, Whiston, etc., preferring the latter view. Perhaps the passage in Æschines favors the former. But the language of Demosthenes, *οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματα*, certainly accords better with the latter. Perhaps we may say with Westermann that while Æschines seems to have in mind the auditing of official accounts, Demosthenes makes it *general*. — *καθαρά... ψήφοι*,

if the sums are even: i. e. if the amount on the credit side is exactly the same as the amount on the debit. The expression arose from a primitive method of keeping accounts with pebbles (ψῆφοι), literally, if the pebbles are clear, with no balance left on either side. — 18. . συγχωρεῖτε, you acquiesce in that result; the acquiescence involves concession of the previous idea that there was a balance in hand, and concurrence in the correctness of the accounts examined. The verb συγχωρεῖν combines both these meanings. — οὕτω, i. e. if they found no balance in the orator's favor, however much they expected beforehand to find it, Æschines had begged they would act upon that finding, not upon their previous and misconceived idea. προσθέσθαι depends on προσήκειν and means consent to, accept. — 228. 22. ὑπάρχων, that we are, to begin with (§ 1), thoroughly convinced in ourselves (perfect tense, middle voice). ὑπαρχούσης which follows is exactly our pre-existing. — 24. οὐ γὰρ ἄν, 47, second note. — 229. 26. οὐ δάκρυα, 18, a. v. — P. 82, l. 1. τιθεῖς. Not by casting accounts, literally, playing pebbles. The δάκρυον contained a number of parallel columns, the extreme right-hand column being reserved for the units, the first on its left for the tens, the next for the hundreds, and so on. Each number in each column would be represented by actually placing on the board in that column the same number of pebbles; for a debit and credit account two δάκρυα would be required. If their columns tallied exactly, then the ψῆφοι were καθαροί. This was usually ascertained by examining the two δάκρυα side by side, and column by column, and taking off (ἀνταρτελεῖν) a pebble from the one δάκρυον for every pebble in the other. See Smith, Dic. Ant., for a diagram of the Abacus. — οὐ γὰρ...λογισμός, for this mode of reckoning, sc. the arithmetical, does not belong to public affairs. — 230. 10. ἡμᾶς, the object of φέρειν καὶ ἀγειν, is placed before them for emphasis. So ἐν εἰρήνῃ, the predicate of εἶναι, precedes even the subject of the verb for the same reason. — 12. ἐκ θαλάττης. At sea is exactly the equivalent of this proleptic use. — 231. 15. ψήφοις. Sums in arithmetic. His retort relies on the technical character of the method for casting up accounts. Facts, deeds, cannot, like pebbles, be taken up and laid aside. — 16. ἀνταρτελεῖν, or that we ought to clear these off, that is, balance them against our misfortunes. — 18. προστίθημι. This arithmetical term is, of course, introduced *avec intention* = add to the account. — 21. φιλανθρωπίας. The clemency with which Philip treated Athens after the battle of Chæronea was in marked contrast with his severity

to *others*, particularly the Thebans. Demades writes (Fragm. 1), *ἔγραψα καὶ Φιλίππῳ τιμὰς· οὐκ ἀρνούμαι. δισχιλίους γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἀνελύτρων, καὶ χίλια πολιτῶν σώματα χωρὶς κήρυκος, καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἀνελύτρωσας λαβὼν ὑμῖν ταῦτ' ἔγραψα.* — 22. *περιβαλλόμενος*, investing himself with. The phrase is common enough, but meant to be sarcastic here, as though Philip *draped* himself in royal and lordly generosity to produce a *fictitious* impression on the mind of Greece. — *καλῶς ποιοῦντες*. *Fortunæ beneficio: happily*. The distinction between this and *καλῶς πράττοντες* is illustrated in the notorious passage, p. 490 (*med.*), *ὅτε δ' ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ κατὰ τὰλλα πάντα ἀμεινον ἐκείνων πράττετε.*

232, 233. AND REALLY I MUST NOTICE HOW UNWORTHY IT WAS OF MY OPPONENT TO MIMIC MY LANGUAGE AND GESTURES. HIS BUSINESS WAS TO EXAMINE OUR PUBLIC HISTORY: AS HE HAS NOT DONE SO, I SHALL DO IT MYSELF.

232. 25. *συκοφαντεῖν* may be paraphrased here to *libel*. Cf. 118, 188. So below 233 = *to make a wilfully false and censorious accusation*. — 27. *παραδείγματα πλάττων*, fabricating illustrations, such, for example, as that of striking the balance by counters. Compare Whiston, in loc. — P. 83, l. 1. *μιμούμενος*. *Æschin.*, p. 77 (*med.*), *οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιὰρὰ ῥήματα...καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδυνῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες, κ. τ. λ.* — *παρὰ τοῦτο*. *All in consequence of this, (don't you see?) the affairs of Greece have turned out as they have.* — *εἰ, if, instead of ὅτι, because.* *Madv., G. S.*, 75. Cf. *Cic., Orat.*, VIII. — 233. 5. *ἀν ἐσκόπει* continues the apodosis: *would have considered in detail* (imperfect). — *ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων*, in view of the simple facts, or on the basis of them. Whiston renders: *keeping to them*. — 6. *εἰσῆεν*. *Entered into public business*, cf. 60. — 11. *πέφευγας*. *Have shirked*, i. e. avoided putting the matter on its true issue. Cf. 116.

234-239. OUR STRENGTH CONSISTED OF THE MINOR ISLANDS ONLY, BESIDES OUR HOME RESOURCES. ALL OUR NEIGHBOR STATES WERE HOSTILE. PHILIP ON THE OTHER HAND POSSESSED DESPOTIC POWER, TRAINED ARMIES, AMPLE MONEY, AND INDEPENDENT PERSONAL ACTION. WHAT HAD I, HIS ANTAGONIST? NOTHING, EXCEPT THE PRIVILEGE OF SPEAKING, AND THAT HIS ATHENIAN SUPPORTERS SHARED ALONG WITH ME. STILL, EVEN THUS, I GOT YOU ALLIES, ARMIES, FUNDS. IT IS ABSURD TO DISCUSS NOW WHETHER THOSE FUNDS WERE RAISED IN FAIR PROPORTIONS FROM EACH CONTRIBUTING STATE. WE NEVER OURSELVES PUT THAT

QUESTION ABOUT OUR SHARE IN SALAMIS. SMALL THANKS WILL ANY OF THESE STATES GIVE YOU FOR BRINGING THIS CHARGE AGAINST ME NOW, INSTEAD OF WATCHING THE CASE FOR THEIR INTERESTS AT THE ACTUAL TIME.

234. 15. **Χίος**. This and the other two islands had won their liberty in the Social War of 355. — 16. **σύνταξιν**. A subscription. This term was invented as a euphemism for φόρος tribute; see Harpocration, s. v. The subscription here alluded to was paid under the arrangement of the new confederation formed in 377. Cf. Dinarch., p. 92. These changes of the relation between Athens and the islands are fully described in Grote. See also Böckh, *Pub. Econ.*, II., 162. — 17. **προξενεγμένα**. Collected beforehand, anticipated. So Xenophon (*Econ.*, IV., 9) uses ἐκλέγουσιν. DISSEN. — 20. οὔτοι. Æschines and his associates. — 21. **ἔχθρας...ἐγγυτέρω**. More enmity than friendship. C. 445; Cu. 415; G. 182; H. 589. — 25. **πῶς**, sc. ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, supplied from above. Concise and pointed. — 235. 26. **αὐτοκρατέω**. Compare *Olynth.*, I., p. 10. — 27. **ἑπλά...δέξ**. Compare *Ol.*, II., p. 24; *Phil.*, III., p. 124. — P. 84, l. 4. οὐδ' ὑπὸ, τ. σ. κ. These words are only found in one MS.; but otherwise there is nothing in them which would suggest their being spurious. On the contrary, they are quite Demosthenic and add to the force of the sentence. — 6. **ἀπλως...πάντων**, absolutely master, leader, lord of all. The climax is made more lively and forcible by the asyndeton. — 236. 9. **οὐ μόνου**. My only privilege. The force of μετέειχον cannot be translated; he means that his privilege, such as it was, was not exclusively his own, but shared to the same extent by Philip's Athenian supporters. — 10. **προυτίθεθ'**. You extended. Thucyd., VI., 14. — 13. **ἂν...τίχῃ**. On whatever pretext each (of their successes) might happen. — 14. **ἀπῆτε**, sc. ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, in these points you took counsel in the interests of your enemy and so went home. WHISTON. — 237. 14. **ἐκ**. Proleptic: we should say under; these defeats were not the cause of his success, but he had to start in each instance out of the positions into which they had sunk him. — 17. **μέριοι**. The same numbers are given by Plutarch, *Vit. Demosth.*, 5. Their insignificance for purposes of modern warfare is sufficiently striking. — 18. **ἀνευ**. Independently of the national forces of the several states, i. e. these foreign mercenaries were an extra army altogether. Each state had its own army of native troops as well. — 20. **συντέλειαν**. Joint-contribution; a much more emphatic term than σύνταξις, 234; but the συντέλεια

was voluntary, the other compulsory. — 238. 20. **λέγας.** *Æschines*, p. 74, τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῶν ἀνέθηκεν οἷς ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαῖος. — τὰ πρὸς...δίκαια, i. e. what would have been just on the part of Athens to Thebes, etc., in reference to their respective shares of the expense. — 22. **Βυζαντίους.** *Æschin.*, p. 90. — **Εὐβοίας,** pp. 66, 67. But nothing in *Æschines'* speech corresponds to this exactly. — 24. **ἐκείνων.** *Those famous.* The allusion is, of course, to the battle of Salamis. Cf. *Æsch.*, *Pers.*, 341; *Herod.*, VIII., 48; *Thucyd.*, I., 74. — 25. **τάς.** "Where parts of a whole are stated in numbers, the article is sometimes prefixed to the numeral (to denote the definiteness of the relation)." *Madv.*, *G. S.*, 11, r. 6. — **διακοσίας.** It is sufficiently amusing that in the speech *de Symm.*, p. 186, the orator states this number at one hundred. It suits his argument there to depreciate; not so here. The number of the whole fleet is stated by *Æschylus* as 300, by *Herodotus* as 378, by *Thucydides* as 400. The Athenian contingent is stated by *Thucydides* to have been two thirds; and by *Herodotus* to have been 180 ships. Compare *Whiston's* note *de Symm.*, 35. — 26. **ἐλαττοῦσθαι.** *To be defrauded*, i. e. made to do and to pay more than the fair share. — P. 85, l. 2. **εἰ,** *that*, *Madv.*, *G. S.*, 194, c; cf. note, 232. — 239. 4. **εἶτα κενός, κ. τ. λ., and after all they are but poor favors which you are conferring on those persons by calumniating me.** *WHISTON.* — 5. **τούτοις.** *Θηβαῖοις, Βυζαντίοις, Εὐβοίαις*, 238. If they had been defrauded (as alleged), it would be but a poor satisfaction to them to see *Demosthenes* libelled; they would have been more thankful for a policy maintained at the time, to save them from being defrauded. — 8. **παρά.** Of time: as in 10 (*fin.*), 13 (*med.*), etc., *at the moment of*, — implying that there was no leisure for deliberation, or discussion of abstract right; the action had to be instantaneous on the emergency: they had to secure, not all they wanted, but all they could get. *Whiston*, however, takes *παρά* as in 232 = *under the existing circumstances.* — 9. **δοῦναι.** This word is definite with *ἐβουλόμεθα* and hence takes the indicative, while with *δοῦναι* it is indefinite and so takes the optative. Compare *Whiston's* note. — 10. **ὁ ἀντιφωνόμενος,** *he that was bidding against us.* *Philip* was ready to buy up for himself any allies whom the Athenians alienated from themselves. — 11. **καὶ...προσδεξόμενος καὶ...προσθήσων,** *not only to receive them, but also to pay them money into the bargain.*

240-243. SUPPOSING I HAD HESITATED IN DOING WHAT I DID,

HOW IMMEDIATELY PHILIP WOULD HAVE GAINED ALL: AND THEN WOULD NOT MY OPPONENTS HAVE LAID THE BLAME ON ME? THERE IS NOTHING SO VILE AS SLANDER. ÆSCHINES OF ALL SLANDERERS IS VILEST, BASE IN THE WHOLE OF HIS LIFE AND HABITS, AND WITH TALENTS UTTERLY PERVERTED TO WORK YOUR RUIN.

240. 14. *τί ἄν, sc. τοιεῖν* below: a reduplicated question, the full phrase being reserved for the end of the sentence, where the *ἄν* is repeated. — ἀκριβολογούμενου = λέγοντος τὰ δίκαια, διαλεγόμενου περὶ τῶν ἰσών. 238. Whiston: *while I was refining about these points*. — 19. ἐξεδόθησαν. *Given up*: here, of an opportunity thrown away, not of a right surrendered, nor of a trust betrayed. — 241. 20. τοῦ μέν. We must supply inverted commas from here to γέγονεν, as the next sentence explains, i. e. *and then*, would they not have said, “*he has got the command of the Hellespont by means of the Byzantines*”? etc. — 21. σινοπομπίας, 87. The same region in the southeast of Russia is now a great corn-growing country. — 24. ὀρμημένων, 71, τὴν Εὐβοίαν κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμα. — 25. καὶ...γε = *yes, and*. — 242. 26. πονηρόν. *A vile thing*: the neuters are contemptuous. The same strain of vituperation is kept up in the diminutive τὰνθρώπιον, *monkey*. — P. 86, l. 1. φέρεα κίναδος. *A born beast*. The meaning of κίναδος is not limited to *fox*, as the Lexica abundantly testify. καί = *even*. — 2. ἐξ ἀρχῆς. *Never in his life*. The idiom cannot be rendered literally. — 3. αὐτοτραγικός. *The ideal Tragedy-baboon*. The form αὐτοτραγικός is after the Platonic αὐτοαληθές, αὐτοαγαθόν κ. τ. λ., the eternal archetype (ιδέα) as distinct from the human counterpart (εἶδος). — ἀρουραίος. *Ænomaus of the country*. The epithet is easily understood as referring to rough and rude country theatricals in the demes adjoining the city. ἐν Κολλυτῷ Οὐνύμαον, 180. — 4. παράσημος. *Counterfeit*, lit. *mis-stamped*. The adjective is a common epithet of bad money, p. 766, l. 6 (cited by Harpocration), but signifies a *counterfeit* in any and every sense. No true and genuine orator, he means, would have so spoken and acted. Cf. Æsch., *Ag.*, 760; Aristoph., *Ach.*, 517 sq. — 5. νῦν. *To-day = only now at last*. The position of this word at the beginning of the sentence gives it all that emphasis. And it retains the same in 243. — 243. 6. ὥσπερ ἄν εἴ. Cf. 194. The parallel passage in Æschines, p. 86, runs thus: εἰτ' ἐπερωτᾷν με, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει τίς ἄν εἴη τοιοῦτος λατρός, ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μὴδὲν συμβουλευοί, τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔνστα διεξίει πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέλους ἀ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὕγιης ἄν ἐγένετο.

It is suggested with some reason that Æschines inserted this in his oration after hearing the orator's reply. — 9. **νομιζόμεν'**. *οὐτ' ἀποθανόντων νομιζομένων ἡξιώθη* Isocr., p. 391. Our word *solemnities* is exactly parallel. The sense of *φέροίτο* (*were being performed*) alludes to the funeral *procession*. And *αὐτῷ*, in his honor, is another example of the Dative of Relation. — 10. **τὸ καὶ τό**. *So and so*, another instance of the article (or relative) used as a demonstrative pronoun. 71. Donaldson's *New Cratylus*, 148. — 11. **ἐμβρόντητε**. *Lunatic*, lit. *thunder-stricken*. Cf. *τετόφωμαι* (note), 11. — 12. **εἶτα νῦν λέγας**. *So then, you speak at last, do you?* *νῦν*=*nunc demum* as above. *εἶτα* expresses irony and indignation.

244—247. WHAT CHANCE HAD I AGAINST PHILIP? HE HAD MIGHT ON HIS SIDE, AND I HAD ONLY RIGHT: I COULD BEAT HIS SIDE IN ARGUMENT, BUT THEY COULD WIN BY ARMS. ALL THAT A SINGLE STATESMAN COULD DO I DID. AND OF THIS I CHALLENGE THE FULLEST INVESTIGATION.

244. 13. **ἦτταν**. Chæroneæ. The dilemma is again merely rhetorical (cf. 217). Æschines might deplore the calamity, and yet feel satisfaction in his rival's policy having been proved a mistake. — **οὐδέ**=*not even*. — **γαυριῶς**. *Exult*: strictly of a spirited horse. The present tense here includes the imperfect=did and still do: on the other hand *προσῆκεν* refers back to a past issue which might have happened but never did; precisely "imperfect." — 14. **ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοί**, *you will not find it (the defeat) to have befallen the city in any one of my measures*, literally, *the things pertaining to me*, i. e. Athens was victorious in its embassies and plans which were managed by Demosthenes, and defeated only in battle where he was not responsible. *ἐν*, not *by*, as rendered by some, but, as usual, *in*. — 20. **βασιλείων**, e. g. Cersobleptes who is so prominently mentioned in the speech *c. Aristocr.* (see also p. 160, etc.) and Teres (*ib.*). — 21. **τελευταία**. Here follows *πρώην* in one MS., and *νῦν* in all the other MSS. But Σ reads as above: and either adverb looks very like an interpolation. — 22. **ταῦτα**. *These points he (Philip) came and carried by force of arms*. — 245. 25. **μαλακίαν**. Æschin., p. 74 (*fin.*): *οὐ γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἀσπράτευτος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοὺς ἐνουθέτησεν*. — **τὸν αὐτόν**, *the same man*, sc. Demosthenes. — 26. **καὶ ταῦτα**, *and that too*, sc. *κρείττω γενέσθαι τοῖς λόγοις*, dat. of means. — 246. P. 87, l. 4. **πάσαν**. *Make any and every examination*: 5, *πάντων*. — 7. **πέπρακτά μοι**. Grote thoroughly indorses the orator's opinion here, referring especially to the Olyn-

thiaca and Philippica, above all to the First Philippic. — 8. πολιτικά. If we render *πόλεις* *states*, perhaps *constitutional* is the best translation of πολιτικά. Whiston well renders: *which are found in all states as constitutional and necessary defects*. — 11. ὁρμήν. *An impulse to do their duty*. — 13. οὐδεὶς μήποθ'. The construction is the common οὐ...μή with the subjunctive where we supply *δεῶν* or *δέος ἐστὶ*, between the two negatives, simply amounting to a future with the very strongest negation. See Madv., *G. S.*, 124, a, 3; C. 627; Cu. 620; H. 845. — 247. 18. οὐθ' ἡγεμόν. The phraseology in this passage is a reiteration of 21, 24, 60. The senses of *πρὸς* are noticed 17. — οὐδ' ὁ λόγος...πρὸς ἐμέ. *The question does not even pertain to me*. — 20. ἡ μή. These words are omitted in one MS., which inserts *μή* between *τῷ* and *διαφθαρήναι* to the great detriment of the sense. But Σ and the rest read as above. Translate: *And really as regards being bribed or not, I have beaten Philip* (i. e. in the game of *corruption* where one party tries to bribe and the other to resist the bribe): *for as the bidder has defeated the acceptor if he buys him up, so the refuser, the uncorrupted, has defeated the bidder*. Whiston cites Herod., I., 68, 69.

248-250. THAT CTESIPHON IS JUSTIFIED IN SPEAKING OF ME IN THESE TERMS IS SUFFICIENTLY PROVED BY THE FACT THAT AFTER CHERONEA, IN THE SERIOUS CRISIS OF OUR FORTUNES, I WAS ELECTED AGAIN AND AGAIN TO SERVE ON OUR MOST IMPORTANT COMMISSIONS, AND THOUGH ATTACKED BY INCESSANT PROSECUTIONS ON THE PART OF THE MACEDONIAN FACTION, I WAS ALWAYS ACQUITTED HONORABLY.

248. 24. ἀ μέν. *The materials then with which I supplied my friend* (Ctesiphon) *to enable him to write these words with truth about me*. Here *γράφειν* has its technical sense, referring to the psephisma which proposed the vote of the crown. The real primary meaning of *δίκαιος* is always *right* or *righteous*: the narrower senses *true* or *just* are merely secondary notions of the word. As one good instance, see Soph., *Trach.*, 348. — 26. ἀ δ'...ὑμεῖς, *but those which you, the whole people, supplied*. — P. 88, l. 3. ἐμβεβηκώς. *In the very midst of its perils and alarms, lit. walking in them*. WHISTON. It agrees with *ἔθνος*. — ἀγνωμονήσαι. Cf. 207. The state had reason to feel provoked then if ever at the orator's policy. — 4. ἦν with the force of *ἦν ἄν*, as so often. See 196, note *ἐξήκελ*. — σωτηρίας. *Salvation*, i. e. deliverance from impending destruction and restoration to perfect soundness. The use of the word to describe political successes is incessant in the

Attic orators. — 7. αἱ τάφροι. See the parallel passage in Lycurgus (c. *Leocr.*, p. 154), ἐπεμελοῦντο γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῆς τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευῆς, οἱ δὲ τῆς τῶν τάφρων, κ. τ. λ. — 9. σιτώνην. *Corn commissioner*. Besides the regular σιτοφύλακες, who had the charge of the public granaries (σιτοδόκαι), there were appointed in any crisis of scarcity (σιτοδεία) special commissioners to procure an extra importation of foreign corn. See Dic. Ant. SITOS. — 249. 11. γραφάς. See 3, note on ἐλεῖν. On εἰσαγγελίας, see 13. On εὐθύνas, 55, 117, etc. — συστάτων, having combined (aor.); ἐπαγόντων, continually bringing (imperf. part.). — 12. οὐ δὲ' ἑαυτῶν, i. e. they suborned persons to make these accusations and carry on these prosecutions, taking care to keep their own share in the proceedings out of sight, and choosing such instruments as were least likely to be suspected of connection with themselves: *subornabant alios quorum nomine sperabant fore ut ipsi laterent*. BREMI. — 14. πρώτους, sc. μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαίρωνεα μάχην (Schol.). In 338, when the triumph of Macedon was assumed, there would naturally be a great opening for the Macedonian party at Athens to persecute the Opposition. — 16. Σωσικλέους. Only mentioned here: the same remark applies to Melantus. — Φιλοκράτους of Eleusis (c. *Aristog.*, p. 783): not the person mentioned above (21), who was of Hagnus. — 17. Διόνδου. 222. — 18. τοῖνυν. There is an anacoluthon here. After the long protasis and parenthesis the speaker takes breath and starts as if with a fresh sentence. Translate: *well, through all these troubles*. Whiston renders: *on all these occasions, I say*. — 22. εὐορκα. *Who had taken their oath and gave their verdict on oath*, i. e. who gave a conscientious verdict. On the contrast of tenses in these participles cf. the parallel passage, 6; on ὑπέρ = *to the honor of*, cf. 1 and 8; and on εὐορκα, 2. — 250. 24. τὸ μένος. 222. — P. 89, l. 1. ἐπεσημαίνεσθε. *Continued to sign and seal*, i. e. to approve officially as correct. Æschines uses the word metaphorically, *de F. L.*, p. 34, *indorsing*. — 2. προσωμολογεῖτε, *you further certified*. WHISTON. — 4. ὄνομα. *What name was it proper or right for Ctesiphon to assign to my actions, — was it not that name which he saw the public assigning?* etc.

251. BUT, IT WILL BE SAID, A MAN OF HONOR WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN PROSECUTED AT ALL. IF SO, HAPPY THE MAN! YET HOW IS HE BETTER THAN THE ACCUSED, WHO IS HONORABLY ACQUITTED? I TOO MAY SAY I HAVE NEVER BEEN PROSECUTED — AT LEAST BY ÆSCHINES.

8. τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου. *That remark of Cephalus was fine: never to be put on public trial.* More exactly: *that affair of Cephalus was beautiful: never in any instance to have been prosecuted: yes, indeed, and fortunate too.* The passage in *Æschines* runs thus (p. 81, fin.): Ἄλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κεφάλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκείνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, ὅτι οὐδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφειγε παρονόμων. We have had Cephalus already mentioned, with the other eminent statesmen, 219. — 12. πρὸς γε τοῦτον, *so far as he (Æschines) is concerned at least.* — 14. ἐγράφατο, sc. *Διοχίτην*. Another taunt on the indirect attack (15, 16). γράφεσθαι describes the mere commencement of the action, διώκειν its prosecution. — 15. ὁμολόγημαι μηδέν. Although the normal construction would be οὐδέν we more usually find the negative to be μή after verbs of assertion or concession. If οὐδέν had been written here the negative would not have had so close a connection with εἶναι. Whiston agrees with Schäfer that μηδέν, not οὐδέν, is used to express the admission of *Æschines*.

252-255. NOW FOR HIS ARGUMENT REGARDING FORTUNE. ANY ARGUMENT FOUNDED ON FORTUNE IS WEAK, BUT HIS PARTICULAR ARGUMENT IS WRONG IN PRINCIPLE. HOW CAN THE FORTUNE OF ANY PRIVATE CITIZEN AFFECT OR IMPAIR THE FORTUNE OF THE STATE? HOWEVER, LET US EXAMINE HIS PRIVATE FORTUNE AND MY OWN, SIDE BY SIDE, IN DETAIL.

252. 17. ἀγνωμοσύνην. *Unfairness*, 207. Cf. ἀγνωμονῆσαι, 248. μεγάλην δὲ Θεοῖς ἀγνωμοσύνην [θέμενοι], *Soph., Trach., 1266, injustice.* — 19. ὅλος μὲν, *in general.* It is correlative to ἐπεὶ δὴ δέ. — 20. προφέρει. Cf. p. 576, l. 13, καὶ τοῦ πῶς ἐστὶ δίκαιον τοῦτομα μὲν τοῦτο ὡς δοκεῖ προφέρειν ἐμοί. *So obijcere in Latin.* — 21. ἣν refers to ταύτης below: *how is it proper to speak of that, or how reproach another for that which, etc.* — 27. ἀνθρωπινώτερον, lit. *more humanly*, i. e. with a more just apprehension of human life: *with how much more truth, and the moderation befitting the nature of man.* — 253. P. 90, l. 3. Δεδω- ναῖον. He assigns this ancient and venerable title here to Zeus, because he wishes to represent him as the Lord of oracles and prophecies, whose estimate of Athenian fortune once declared oracularly must be always true; the fortune of Athens is therefore intrinsically good; though not exempt from sharing in the common distresses of the world, when such distresses are universal as they are at the present crisis. The good fortune of Athens, involving also the favor of the

gods, is a favorite theme with Demosthenes. Compare Phil., I., 12, where he says, "fortune always takes better care of us than we do of ourselves." — ἡμῖν. After this word one MS. inserts καὶ τὸν Ἀπώλλω τὸν Πόθειον. Dindorf, following Σ, reads as above. But Bremi, Bekker, and Whiston retain the insertion. If retained it weakens greatly the force of καὶ before τὸν Δία, Zeus himself, and weakens somewhat the force of the whole sentence. — 4. ἐπέχεα, obtains, prevails. — 254. 7. τὸ μὲν τοίνυν. Now the fact that we chose the noblest policy and the fact that we are in better case than those very Hellenes who expected that their position would be constant prosperity, provided they threw us over — this I set down to the state's good fortune. — 9. διέξαν, i. e. that they would live their lives out in a state of perfect happiness. — 10. τίθημι is in its technical sense of recording in a valuation or estimate under a particular item. — τὸ δὲ προσκρούσαι. But that we have met with reverses and that events have not all turned out as we wished, — this I consider the state has participated as our allotted share in the fortune of the rest of the world. The infinitives are the direct objects of μεταλαμβάνω which like μετέχω and μεταδίδωμι is often constructed with an accusative, as well as with a partitive genitive, and τὸ...μέρος is in apposition with these infinitive clauses. In ἐπιβάλλον we have an example of the intransitive use of that verb: so Herod., II., 180, τοὺς Δελφούς δὲ ἐπέβαλλε παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ. Id., IV., 115, τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον. — 255. 14. Ἰδίαν. Personal, i. e. Æschines has no right to say that my sins bring a curse on the state (Æsch., p. 73): a man's personal fortune only affects his own personal affairs and extends no further; any estimate of it must be made within that limit. — 18. κυριωτέραν. More supreme than: i. e. more potent in producing effects. Cf. Æsch., p. 73, l.

256. AS HE HAS MADE PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON ME, I AM OBLIGED, HOWEVER RELUCTANT, TO RETALIATE.

25. ψυχρότητα. *Ungenerous feeling*: a lack of that human warmth of heart and sympathy which would naturally produce great tenderness of word and deed towards the unfortunate. This use of the word ψυχρότης is unexampled; but the context explains it. The Lexica, however, and the editors translate it otherwise: *indifference, puerility, absurdity*. But L. and S.: *coldness of heart, indifference*. — 26. ἐγὼ γάρ, for I (emphatic) do not consider any one wise who insults another for being poor, nor prides himself for being brought up in affluence. — P. 91, l. 3. ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι. The full form of the

adverbial expression which is usually elliptical. Cf. 4 throughout. — *ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων*, under (lit. out of) *existing circumstances*.

257-264. I HAD THE EDUCATION OF A GENTLEMAN FROM CHILDHOOD UPWARDS, AND I TOOK THE POSITION OF A GENTLEMAN IN PUBLIC LIFE AND BUSINESS. ÆSCHINES BEGAN LIFE AS AN ERRAND-BOY OF VERY DUBIOUS PARENTAGE, WAS THEN ENGAGED IN A SUCCESSION OF MENIAL AND VULGAR OCCUPATIONS, FINALLY EMERGED AS A STATESMAN, BUT WHAT A STATESMAN! — WITHOUT HEART AND WITHOUT CHARACTER!

257. 6. *φοιτῶν* has here its common technical sense to go to school. *παῖς ὡς ἐφοίτας ἐς τινος διδασκάλου*; Arist., *Eq.*, 1235; Plat., *Prot.*, 326, C, etc. The course of school education is fully described in the *Protagoras*, p. 325; it consisted of (1) *γράμματα* (language spoken and written), (2) study of authors, (3) music, and (4) *εὐκοσμία* (good principles and good behavior). — *καὶ ἔχειν, κ. τ. λ.*, and to have what (i. e. such an inheritance or allowance as) *one must have who is to do nothing mean through indigence*, i. e. I was exempt from the necessity of earning my bread in any menial way, 258. The vulgarity of this "odious comparison" requires indeed all the apology of 256, and even so is intolerable. — 8. *ἐξελθόντι*, i. e. when I became an *ἐφηβος* and was entered in the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον* as now *τελῶν ἐς ἄνδρας*, and of ripe age to hold office. Cf. c. *Mid.*, pp. 564, 565; c. *Aphob.*, p. 857; c. *Onet.*, 865, etc.; Dic. Ant., "Ἐφηβος. — ἀκσίλουθα, *suitable, the natural sequel*: i. e. undertaking those state offices which only the wealthier class, 104, were required to serve. The Choregus volunteered, as the accepted representative of his tribe, to bear the whole expense of putting one of the selected Dramas on the stage. We have a full account in the *Midias* of how the orator served the Choregia and the Trierarchia (pp. 540, 564). The duties of the Trierarch have been already noticed, 104-106. The system of the *Eisphora* (extraordinary *Property Tax*) was identical with that described 103, note, *ἡγεμόνας*. For fuller particulars on the various technical allusions in this paragraph, see Dic. Ant., s. vv.: and with all this account of the orator's early life compare the speeches against *Aphobus*, p. 811 sq. — 10. *φιλοτιμίας*. *Fell short in no point of duty either public or private*. Bremi says: "officia ex quibus honorifice præstitis laus redundat in eum qui præstitit: hic etiam officia complectitur amicis præstanda." Though *φιλοτιμία* is literally *honorable ambition*, we cannot but paraphrase it here. — 16. *καλὰ γέ*, *honorable at any rate*, whatever may be

said of their utility. — 258. 17. *συμβεβλῶκα* with the next seven words happens to make a Hexameter. — *πόλλ' ἂν ἔχον*, *though I could say many other things about it*, sc. if I would. — 19. *ἐν οἷς*. *By dwelling on what I am proud of*. The sentiment is exactly the same as in 4. The unexpressed antecedent to *ἐν οἷς* is *τοῖς πράγμασι*, dative of the cause (i. e. the cause of their probable annoyance), in immediate connection with *λυπήσαι*. — 20. *σεμνός*. *Imposing*: here false assumption is implied in contrast to just pride (*σεμνόμεαι*). On *σεμνός*, cf. 35, *τὰ ῥήματα*. — 21. *πρὸς ταύτην*, *in comparison with this*. — *ποία... τύχη*, *what kind of fortune you have experienced*. — 23. *προσεδρεύον*. *Sitting in attendance on*; i. e. not a member of the school, but only there as errand-boy and drudge. — *μέλαν*. We know little or nothing about the ink used at this period; but from this passage we must infer that it was prepared like our Indian ink by rubbing from a cake. See Dic. Ant., *Atramentum*. — 24. *βάθρα*. *Subsellia scholastica*. Cf. Platon., *Protag.*, 325, E, *παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἀναγινώσκειν ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα*. — *παιδαγωγέιον*. Synonymous with *διδασκαλεῖον*. The word *παιδαγωγός* has the general sense of *tutor* as well as its particular sense of the *slave who escorted the boy on his way to school*. — 25. *οἰκέτου*. Exactly our own *domestic*: an in-door servant only. — 259. 26. *τελοῦση*. Suidas calls Glaucothea a *τελέστρια*, the orator styles her *τυμπαστρία*, 284. In these initiations, which were of Phrygian origin, Glaucothea as high priestess would play the cymbals, and Æschines would read the requisite passages out of the mystic books. The deity worshipped in these solemnities seems to have been Sabazius, a Phrygian god, afterwards identified with Dionysus Sabazius. Aristoph., *Av.*, 876, *εἴχεσθε καὶ φρυγίῳ Σαβαζίῳ*, where *φρύγιος* is a wretched pun on *φρύγιος*. — 27. *συνεσκευαυοῦ*. *And helped in all the other business (ceremonies, Kennedy; impostures, Whiston)*, i. e. all the technical performance connected with the rites, as the context explains. — P. 92, l. 1. *τὴν νύκτα*, *during the night*. *μέν* is correlative to *δέ* with *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις*. — *νεβρίζον*. A coined word, contemptuous in its form; so *κρατηρίζω* also: *working away with fawn-skin and bowl*. The wearing of the fawn-skin in Dionysiac rites is sufficiently notorious; here it is probably meant that the business of Æschines was to robe the candidates for initiation, as well as assuming the dress himself. See Harpocration (s. v.). The *κρατήρ* would be indispensable, both for libations and for the orgies which followed. — *καθαίρων*. Dissem

cites here the excellent explanatory note of Wyttenbach on Plutarch, *de Superstit.*, 166, a. "Lustrationis pars erat ut corpus lustrandum circumlineretur et quasi circumpinsetur imprimis luto, $\pi\eta\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}$, tum abstergeretur, quorum illud est $\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ hoc $\delta\pi\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon$, *sed utrumque promiscue de tota lustratione dicitur.*" See also Harpocration, s. v. $\delta\pi\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon$. As here described, the clay was first smeared all over the skin and then rubbed off with bran. The total operation is meant by $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\rho\omega$, the details by $\kappa\alpha\iota\ldots\pi\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$. — 3. $\delta\nu\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is transitive, *raising*, or *making them rise*. — 4. $\xi\phi\upsilon\gamma\omicron\nu$. *I've escaped the bad; I've found the better.* The idea of initiation is to consecrate and purify the nature of the initiated. Hence the candidate is told to describe himself as renouncing sin and cleaving to good *forever*. Cf. the notorious passage of Isocrates (*Panegy.*, 28) concerning the origin and conception of the Mysteries. Also Cic., *de Leg.*, II., 14. Eurip., *Bacch.*, 900, is compared by Elmsley. The same formula of devotion, as Dissen notices, was used at Athens in certain nuptial ceremonies: Suidas, s. v. $\xi\phi\upsilon\gamma\omicron\nu$. — 5. $\delta\lambda\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\xi\alpha\iota$ is the *howling* in the orgies. — $\kappa\alpha\iota\ldots\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, and for my part I believe it, sc. that no one ever did howl so. — 6. $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$. Cf. 285, $\epsilon\delta\phi\omega\nu$; 313, $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\omicron\phi\omega\nu\delta\tau\alpha\omicron\varsigma$. Also, p. 449, *de F. L.*, where the voice of Æschines is fully criticised. — 260. 8. $\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ has here its technical sense of a *Dionysiac procession* or rather *riot*, — $\text{Ἰακχε ἔλθ' ἐνδ' ἀνὰ λειμῶνα χορεύσων δόλους ἐς θιασώτας}$. Arist., *Ran.*, 326. — 9. $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\phi$. *Fennel*, the Attic form of $\mu\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\phi$. The plant was supposed to have magic powers. *Ælian*, *H. A.*, IX., 17, cited by Dissen. — $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\kappa\eta$. The white poplar was supposed to grow in the infernal regions. Harpocration cites Hom., *Il.*, XIII., 389; XVI. 482. That this Dionysus of the Mysteries was one of the $\chi\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\iota\omicron\iota$ is sufficiently clear from the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes (*l. c.*). — 10. $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$. *Squeezing the big-cheeked snakes*. Like, if not the same as, the "puff adder." W. The serpents were so called from the puffed shape of their heads; they were not venomous. Cf. Aristoph., *Plut.*, 690. On their use in Bacchic rites, cf. Eurip., *Bacch.*, 697: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma\ |\ \delta\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \lambda\iota\chi\mu\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\upsilon$. — 11. $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota\ \sigma\alpha\beta\omicron\iota$. *Evoe Saboe*. The joyous interjections $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota$, $\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}$, $\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (said to be of Eastern etymology) were specially appropriate to Dionysiac revels. $\Sigma\alpha\beta\omicron\iota$ is understood to be the abbreviated vocative of $\Sigma\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\iota\omicron\varsigma$. — $\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma\ \delta\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$. The words of the song put to represent the tune of the dance — Hymen, Hymenæe, is always cited as a parallel. The ancient lexicographers explain $\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma\ \delta\tau\tau\eta\varsigma$ as being mystic

names either of Dionysus or of Atys; and support the former view by fanciful derivations, — ὕψ from ὑετός, ἀττης from ἀτη. We have no other information as to the meaning or origin of the words. — ἐπορχούμενος = *dancing to the song*. — 12. ἑαρχος applies to the music, προηγμένων to the procession, = *praecentor, leader of the dance*. The meanings of κιστοφόρος and λικνοφόρος are somewhat disputed. But it is pretty well established that the κίστη referred to was the chest in which the mystic articles were shut up and carried in procession (cf. the proverb ὄνος ἄγων μυστήρια, Aristoph., *Ran.*, 159, Schol.): and that the λίκνον was a fan-shaped basket containing first-fruits and all necessaries for the sacrifices, Dionysus having, among other epithets, the γέρας of λικνίτης. — 14. ἑνθρυπτα. ψωμοὶ οὖν βεβεργμένοι οὗς ἐποιοῦν εἰς σκάφην ἄρτους διαθρύψαντες — καὶ φακὴν ἐπισκεδάσαντες (Ulpian), i. e. bits of bread soaked in a bowl of wine and sprinkled over with pulse. It may be rendered *sweetmeats*. — στρεπτοὺς, *twists*. — 15. νεήλατα, according to Harpocration were rolls of *fresh-ground* barley-meal steeped in honey and studded with raisins and chick-peas. Lobeck, however, derives the word, with much more probability, from ἐλαύνω, citing the use of ἐλατήρ for pastry in Aristoph., *Equit.*, 1181. — 261. 17. ἐνεγράφης. *Enrolled on the list of your deme*. The presiding officer in every deme (δήμαρχος) kept a register of all citizens of full age who could be counted among its members; this was called the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, and was the necessary record to prove citizenship. — τοῦτο, i. e. the difficulty you had to get your name put on the list, on the ground of your parentage. — 18. οὖν. *After all*. Here οὖν has its full original force already noticed (23) as an accusative absolute of the neuter participle of εἶμι — *this being so*, i. e. the point being assumed to be true, though not worth discussing. Compare our *I say*, and *however*, in their resumptive use. — 19. γραμματεῖαν. 127, δλεθρος γραμματεῦς. *De F. L.*, p. 371, l. 20, etc. The diminutive ἀρχιδίους is sarcastic and contemptuous = *petty magistrates*. Aristoph., *Av.*, 1111, κὰν λαχόντες ἀρχιδίον εἶθ' ἀρπάσαι βούλησθέ τι. — 262. 23. βαρυστόνους. *To those actors nicknamed the Lugubrious*, doubtless because they overacted the pathetic. We know nothing of them from other sources. In the *de F. L.*, p. 418, we find Æschines acting as tritagonist to a different pair of artistes, Theodorus and Aristodemus; but that was at Athens, not in the rural (or, as we should say, "provincial") performances. — 26. δπωρώνης. *A costermonger*, lit. a small fruiterer who would purchase a stock of fruit from the

market-gardens and sell it on his own account. The rustic audience, according to the orator, pelted Æschines so freely for his bad acting, that he might have set himself up in the olive and fig trade with the quantities which they threw at him. — 27. **τραύματα**. The remark is meant to be facetious : i. e. Æschines received more wounds from figs and olives in his desperate and deadly battles with the audience than he ever did in the state's service. With Dindorf I prefer to retain **τραύματα** here, though Σ omits it ; all the other MSS. have it, and Schäfer retained it, though with a different interpretation ; according to his view Æschines robbed the orchards and got caught and thrashed while doing so. But the other explanation is simpler and better. So Holmes. But **τραύματα** is probably a gloss, and is omitted by most editors. And **ἀγώνων**, especially with the relative clause which follows, can hardly mean anything else than the *dramatic* contests in which Æschines and his associates were continually battling (imperf.) for dear life. The result was, Demosthenes means to say, that they got more (both kicks and coppers) in this way than from acting in the plays. — P. 93, l. 2. **ἀσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος**, an implacable and unceasing war, where there is no mention of a treaty and no suspension of hostilities on the appearance of a herald with a flag of truce. W. — 4. **σιώπῃται**. As Æschines charged Demosthenes with cowardice in the battle of Chæronea, e. g. p. 76, *καταγαγούσης δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν πρῶτους χρόνους δούλοσμος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ παρῶν ἡμιθνής ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα εἰρηνοφύλακα ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν*. — 263. 5. **ὦν...αἰτιάσται**, which might be imputed to his poverty, lit. for which one might blame his poverty. C. 481 ; Cu. 422 ; G. 173, 2 ; H. 577, b. — 6. **αὐτὰ...κατηγορήματα**, the actual charges against your character. — 8. **ποτε**. At last : continuing the taunt that Æschines was long excluded from political life by his low origin and occupations. — 9. **λαγὼ βίον**. Herod., III., 108, *ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὀρνίθου καὶ ἀνθρώπου*. "Lepus," says Bremi quaintly, "omnibus gentibus et ætatibus imago est timiditatis, quippe qui ne dormiens quidem audeat oculos occultare." — 264. 12. **χάλλον**. Diodorus (XVI., 86) returns the loss in the battle of Chæronea at more than a thousand killed and quite two thousand taken prisoners. — 13. **ἐθάρρησε**. Was in high spirits, i. e. was absolutely and obviously exhilarated and emboldened by the circumstance.

265, 266. I RECAPITULATE AND SUMMARIZE THE COMPARISON OF OUR PRIVATE FORTUNES.

265. 21. ἱερέας. This passage has been universally admired by a host of critics from Hermogenes downwards; but I cannot myself admire it at all, except for the neatness with which the "antitheta" are balanced. It appears to me not only vulgar but fallacious. In what respect is the school-boy superior to the pupil-teacher, or the candidate for initiation to the acolyth who initiates him, or the audience to the artistes? The utmost the orator says against Æschines is this, that owing to inferior birth and poverty he had no social advantages, and had to fight his own way in the world. The more honor to him for having successfully achieved it. — ἐπὶ δὲ... ἡ κυκλισησίων. *You performed initiations, and I was initiated; you danced in the choir, and I was choregus; you were a clerk in the assembly, and I was a member.*

— 24. ἐξέπικτες. *You were hissed off the stage, and I hissed you: for the enemy has all your policy been, mine for my country.* It may be heterodox to say so, but all this antithesis seems to me studied and unnatural, and not at all consistent with the honest indignation which Demosthenes affects. But no doubt it would be very effective as oratory. With ἐξέπικτες compare *Fals. Leg.*, p. 449. Mr. Kennedy quotes from Milton's Apology for Smectymnuus an imitation of this passage. Speaking of the young divines and students at college, whom he had so often seen upon the stage acting before courtiers and court ladies, he proceeds thus: "There while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I mimicked; and to make up the Atticism, they were out, and I hissed." W. — 266. P. 94, l. 2. κινδυνεύεις, *you are on trial whether you are still to continue doing this (the work of an informer) or forthwith to be silenced; and you are sure to lose in either event: if you get your verdict, you go on with your established but degrading profession of traitor and informer; if you do not get a verdict, you're a ruined man and even that career is closed to you.* Accordingly, Æschines is said to have left Athens, even before Demosthenes had concluded his speech, and gone into exile at Rhodes. — 5. οὐχ ὁρᾷς. Parenthetical as in 232. *Good, indeed,—don't you see? is the fortune in which having passed your life, etc.* W. — 267. 9. ἀνυπαίτων. *Murdered, or used to murder, cf. 180.* The first iambic cited is Eurip., *Hec.*, 1; the author of the second is

unknown. On the word *καταγγελεῖν* to be bearer of wretched tidings the point of the next sentence turns : and wretch as you are, may you come to a wretched doom,—by the judgment of heaven, if so it may be, if not, by the judgment of all here present. *ἔπειτα* (1) answers *μάλιστα μὲν* with a little more force than *εἰ δὲ μή* (103), representing a closer and more immediate alternative. The Greeks were fond of paronomasia, like this : *κακὸν κακῶς ἀπολέσειαν*, cf. Plutarch., *De Sera*, VII. ; Mat., XXI., 41. See also the Latin : *malos male perdere*.

268, 269. I WILL NOT MENTION MY PRIVATE BENEFACTIONS. IT IS MEAN OF A MAN EVEN TO RECOLLECT HIS OWN GOOD DEEDS OF THAT KIND.

268. 18. *οὐκ ἔπω,* κ. τ. λ. This rhetorical figure "I will not say," "I will not mention," is alike frequent and plausible in ancient and modern oratory. — 20. *ἀλυσάμην*. *Ransomed*. Cf. *de F. L.*, p. 394 ; *adv. Nicostr.*, p. 1250. — 21. *συνεξέδωκα*. *Helped to dower*—*ἐτι τοίνυν καὶ ἰδία τιαι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπορούσι συνεξέδωκε θυγατέρας καὶ ἀδελφάς*. Lys., *de Aristoph.*, pec., 59. — 269. P. 95, l. 4. *μικροῦ δεῖν*, almost. C. 665 ; Cu. 564 ; G. 268 ; H. 772. — *ὀνειδίζαν*, sc. with ingratitude and forgetfulness. Compare the well-known sentiment in Terence, *And.*, I., i., 16 :—

Nam is thæc commemoratio

Quasi exprobratio est immemoris benefici.

— 7. *ἄρκει μοι*. *Whatever may be my general reputation as to this, that is enough for me*.

270-275. IS DISASTER LIMITED TO US AT ATHENS ? IS IT NOT UNIVERSAL, EVEN WHERE MY NAME HAS NEVER BEEN HEARD OF ? BLAME BAD FORTUNE : DO NOT BLAME MY BAD STATESMANSHIP. WHY DID NOT ÆSCHINES SUGGEST A BETTER POLICY ? BECAUSE THERE WAS NO BETTER. WHEN A MAN HAS DONE HIS BEST TO WIN, LOSING DESERVES NOT CENSURE BUT SYMPATHY.

270. 11. *ἀθρόος*, *unscathed of* or *by*, followed by a gen. of source or cause. — 12. *ῥῶν*, i. e. the year 331-330. So in 253, *τύχην ἣ ῥῶν ἐπέχει*. The supremacy of Alexander was at its height ; the news of his Asiatic triumphs was constantly reaching Greece, and his lieutenant Antipater had just crushed the Peloponnesian secession at Megalopolis. — 14. *τὴν ἐμὴν...βούλει*, *my fortune or ill-fortune, whichever you choose to call it*. — 271. 20. *φορὰν* is rendered by some here as in the corresponding passage, 61, *crop* ; but most editors take it here, if not also there, in the sense of *rush, current, torrent*. *οὐχ ὅαν ἐδει* is

an adj. clause and may be rendered, *lamentable, intolerable*, lit. *such as ought not to have been*. *παραμάτρων* has here its frequent sense of *troubles*. 272. 22. τὸν παρὰ τούτοις clearly means, *me whose political career has been at home among my own citizens*. W. — 273. P. 96, l. 4. οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἔμοι, *for it was not out of good-will to me, assuredly, that you resigned to me prospects, and admiration, and honors...but because you were compelled by the truth, manifestly, and because you had nothing better to say (advise)*. Surely you did not sacrifice these in order that I might win them. The fact is, my policy was so good that it was impossible to suggest anything better. As to the construction of the Greek: *ἐμοί* is the dative of relation (Madv., *G. S.*, 35, a), *ἐκπίδω* the genitive of privation (57, b). — 274. 12. ὀργήν. The accusatives are in apposition to *διωρισμένα* the object of *ὀρῶ*. — 15. οὐ κατέφθαρ. *Failed in common with all, failed with a failure which all shared*. The orator, here as throughout, imputes the failure of his own policy not to bad judgment but to bad luck,—not to his own bad luck, but to the bad luck of the universe at this particular epoch. On the distinction between *ἀνυχήματα*, *ἀμαρτήματα*, and *ἀδικήματα*, cf. Aristot., *Rhet.*, I., 13 cited by Dissen. On unwritten laws, see Soph., *Antig.*, 452, and Xen., *Mem.*, IV., 4, 19, cited by Whiston. — 276. 27. δεινόν. *A man of art, and juggling, and sophistry*. We find the same contemptuous collocation in Plato's *Symp.*, 203, D. On the difference between *σοφιστής* and *ῥήτωρ*, cf. Aristot., *Rhet.*, I., 1 (*fin.*). — P. 97, l. 1. ὥς here, like *ὥς* just above, marks its clause as subjective, that is, expressing the view of *Æschines*, C. 680 ; Cu. 588 ; G. 277, N. 2 ; H. 795, e ; and the participle *έχοντα* is in the accus. although it is not imper. C. 675 ; G. 278, N ; H. 793. Render: *as though when one is the first to say things about another which belong to himself, these, forsooth, must also be true*. — 277. 6. καὶ ἐγὼ...δεινότητά, *that also I know well, that in regard to my skill as an orator (but let this pass),—for be it so, i. e. if it be admitted: he completes the sentence here interrupted with the words εὐφραερε πάντες, κ. τ. λ., l. 12, below*. He admits that there may be some truth in imputing to him professional talent as orator ; but he argues, pretty correctly, that an orator's professional success depends on his being found to meet the sympathies and to serve the interests of his hearers. The very imputation, therefore, of oratorical success is a sort of guaranty of patriotic service. — 9. ὥς γὰρ...οὕτως, *for as (according as) you may accept and feel kindly towards each, so (and so only) does the speaker seem to be wise (have credit for wisdom)*. His

reputation both as a statesman and orator rests entirely on the verdict of his audience. For *οὕτως*=*so only, only to that extent*, compare 7, note in τὰ δίκαια. — 11. *οὖν*, resumptive, 261. — *ἐμπειρία* here takes the place of *δευύτηρα* above, and shows what it means. — 13. *ἐξεταζομένην*, *proved* by the test and examination of facts, 173. — 278. 19. τὸν καλὸν καγαθόν. Both these adjectives are attributes alike to the mental, the moral, and the physical, — *καλός* implies the beauty of goodness and *ἀγαθός* the integrity. In their present common juxtaposition they mean pretty nearly what we call *the man of honor*, and what Cicero calls *honestus*. — 20. τοὺς...δικαστάς, *thou who have come into the court as judges for the public weal*. — 21. ἀξιοῦν αὐτὸ βεβαίου, *to require them to secure to himself, that is; to gratify his own personal resentment and enmity*. — 26. ἐν οἷς. *In cases where the people have to deal with their enemies*, i. e. to defend themselves against their enemies' attack. On this dative of relation depending on the impersonal *ἐστὶ*, see Madvig's *G. S.*, 38, a. — 279. P. 98, l. 1. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος. Translate: *But that without ever having claimed to get satisfaction from me for any public nor, I will add, even any private wrong either on the state's behalf or his own, he should now come forward having gotten up an accusation against my being crowned and honored*, etc. WHISTON. — 5. συνεσκευασμένον. Perfect middle. This sense of *συνσκευάζειν* as *concocting* and *conspiring* is abundantly illustrated by the Lexica. — 280. 10. φωνασκίας. Æschines speaks of the orator's voice as *ἀξίαν καὶ ἀνδρίαν* (*de F. L.*, p. 49, 157). Here Demosthenes retorts that Æschines *had chosen to take up this contest from a wish* (*βουλόμενος* denoting the motive) *to make an exhibition of oratory and vocal practice* (*λόγων καὶ φωνασκίως*), *not to get satisfaction for any wrong*. — 14. ὁ τόνος. *Raising of his voice*. Æschines had taunted him as *ἐντεινόμενος τὴν φωνήν* (*de F. L.*, l. c.) and had asked *τίς ἡ κραυγή; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς*; p. 84. Cf. Cic., *Or.*, XVIII. Quintilian, XI., 3. — 281. 19. τῆς αὐτῆς. We understand *ἀγκύρας* from the context ὁρμεῖ. This genitive has been already discussed 17 (*first note*). The meaning of the proverb *not to ride at the same anchor* is obvious; here alluding to Æschines's Macedonian proclivities. As one of many illustrations we may cite p. 1296, l. 1, *μηδ' ἐπὶ δυοῖν ἀγκύραιν ὁρμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔατε*. Cf. Eurip., *Or.*, 68; Plat., *Phaed.*, 227. Bremi, however, understands it to mean "im gleichen Schiffe mit den andern fahren." — 21. ὁρᾷς: 266. — ἐγώ, sc. *ἔχω*, *I have*. — 282. 24. ἐπορεύου, *wished to go*. See Grote, XI., 699; Plutarch, Phocion, c. 10. W. — 26. ἀρνούμενος. Imperfect tense, — *although be-*

fore he always refused this service (of going on embassy). By πάντα χρόνον he probably means only from 346 to Chæronea. The statement any way is quite inconsistent with the spurious psephism (29) which mentions Æschines among its πρέσβεις. — P. 99, l. 2. καταράται. A general imprecation of all who were ἐχθροὶ τῇ πόλει was a formal part of the proceedings in every ἐκκλησία. Cf. Dic. Ant., s. v. The orator implies that his opponent was that worst of all foes, a traitor. — 283. 10. μηδὲν...πράγμα. Compare the familiar expression : τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, *what have I to do with thee?* John, ii., 4. — 284. 18. ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνῶριμος, *guest-friend, or friend at all, or acquaintance*. Compare 51, 52. "The repetitions, the enforcement again and again of the same points, are a distinguishing feature of Demosthenes, and formed also one of the characteristics of Mr. Fox's great eloquence." LORD BROUGHAM. — τυμπανιστρίας, cf. 259, note. — 21. ἐλημμένους and γεγονώς are concessive = *although you have yourself been manifestly found* (lit. caught) *a traitor*, etc. C. 674, f; Cu. 582; G. 277, 5; H. 789, f.

285-291. THE CITY HAS BEEN GRATEFUL TO ME FOR MY MANY SERVICES, AND AS AN INSTANCE OF IT, I WAS APPOINTED TO MAKE THE FUNERAL SPEECH OVER THOSE WHO FELL IN THE BATTLE. MANY OF YOU EMINENT ORATORS ASPIRED TO THE HONOR. BUT THE STATE KNEW HOW YOUR SYMPATHIES AND FRIENDSHIPS LAY, AND THEREFORE REJECTED YOU ALL AND TOOK ME. THE EPITAPH ON THOSE WHO WERE SLAIN CONFIRMS MY ASSERTION THAT THEIR FALL WAS DUE TO EVIL FORTUNE, NOT TO EVIL POLICY.

285. 26. τὸν ἐροῦντ'. The nature of these funeral orations is sufficiently explained by Thucydides (II., 34). Compare also Platon., *Menez.*, p. 236; Demosth., c. *Leptin.*, p. 499; Aristid., *Panath.*, I., p. 331; Cic. *Leg.*, II., 24, 62; *Orat.*, 44, 151. — P. 100, l. 2. Δημάδην. This person was no less remarkable for eloquence than for corruption (Plutarch., *Phoc.*, 1): he was a bitter enemy of Demosthenes (Id., *Demosth.*, 28) and an ardent supporter of Philip, whose good graces he secured when a captive after Chæronea (Diod., XVI., 87): he maintained the same influence with Alexander, and was bribed by the friends of Demosthenes to use it for the preservation of the anti-Macedonian orators when Alexander demanded their execution. Eventually Demades was put to death by Antipater, who detected him playing a double game between himself and Perdicas (Diodor., XVIII., 48). For further particulars see Smith, *Dic. Biog.* — 3.

Ἡγήμονα. This orator and Pythocles were both put to death by order of the Athenian Assembly in the year 317, sharing the fate of Phocion whose supporters they had been. Plut., *Phoc.*, 35. Pythocles is mentioned by the orator, pp. 411, 442. — 7. **ἐτ' ἀμεινον.** Dis-sen comments thus: "*etiam studiosius et luculentius. Similis usus adverbii καλῶς de quo vide Schäferum ad Soph., Œd. R.*, 1008." We may render the phrase *yet the more*. The passage in Sophocles runs: *καλῶς εἰ δῆλος οὐκ εἰδῶς τί δρᾷς*. "'T is all too clear thou know'st not what thou dost." 286. 11. **εὐθενούντων**, a rare word in Attic Greek and of doubtful etymology, but used repeatedly in the Eumenides of Æschylus: *for what you denied upon oath when affairs were prosperous, this you confessed in the misfortunes of the state*. — 13. **ὦν...ἀδεια.** Schäfer understands this to mean *freedom to express their feelings without reserve*. But the phrase will hardly bear this extension. Rather: *secured impunity for their designs*. So Whiston also takes it. The context would fit either translation. — 287. 17. **μῆθ' ὁμορόφιον**, literally, *under the same roof*. *Should have neither shared the dwelling or the meal*: as these acts would be typical always of sympathy and association. The phrase *γεγενημένον εἶναι* instead of *γεγενῆσθαι* seems to be only for variety, the latter form having occurred so instantly before. This usage of the auxiliary *εἶναι* is not at all uncommon, as Reiske supposes. Cf. Soph., *O. R.*, 580, 1146; Plat., *Tim.*, 26; *Phil.*, 39; *Soph.*, 217, and Madv., *G. S.*, 180, d. — 19. **ἐκεῖ**, in the court of Philip. He seems to be speaking here of the Macedonian rejoicing after the defeat of the Phocians. WHISTON. — **κωμάζειν.** All the editors cite the parallel from the *de F. L.*, p. 380; *οὗτος εἰς τὰ πύκνια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἃ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἔθνον, εἰσιτάτο ἐλθὼν καὶ σπονδῶν μετείχε καὶ εὐχῶν ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τεύχεσι καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ ὅπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν ᾗχετο ἐκείνους, καὶ συνεστειφανοῦτο καὶ συνεπαίωνιζε Φίλιππον καὶ φιλοτιμίας προὔπτεν*. — 20. **ὑποκρινόμενον.** *Acting his part*. The orator reiterates his taunt on Æschines's original profession, 15. — 288. 27. **ὁ μὲν δῆμος.** Another good instance of the really subordinate sentence being introduced by *μὲν* and the principal by *δέ*. Cf. 3. Paraphrase: *and it was not the case that while the people voted thus, yet the parents, etc., voted otherwise*. — P. 101, l. 2. **περὶ δαπνον.** *The funeral banquet*, called also *νεκρόδειπνον*. Lucian *de Luctu*, c. 24. — **ὥς.** Fully expressed this phrase would run *παρ' οὐκ εἰστάτω ὡς δυνατόν ἦν*. Cf. 4. Render: *with the nearest possible relative*. The addition of *ὥς* always intensifies the

superlative to this maximum degree, and if a preposition is connected with the superlative it naturally comes between it and the ω s. Abundant examples are cited : p. 309, l. 2, p. 585, l. 3, etc. See also *Madv., G. S.*, 96 ; C. 553, c ; Cu. 631, a ; H. 664. — 6. ϕ γάρ. *For he who had the deepest interest in their life and fortune, surely he had the largest share of the anguish felt for them all, when they had met that fate, which, oh ! that they never had.* With $\mu\eta\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ we obviously supply $\pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$. The argument is this : the statesman holds as most precious to himself the life and welfare of every single citizen ; therefore he feels most keenly the blow of their loss in every single instance. Kindred would only feel for their individual kin ; but his own grief is universal. “The sentiment is like that which *Œdipus* expresses in the beautiful lines of *Sophocles* (*Œd. Rex*, 88).” KENNEDY. — 239. **ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.** Göttinger contends ingeniously, but strangely, that Demosthenes himself was the author of this Inscription. He relies especially on the parallel passages in this oration, pp. 297 and 322. Bekker contradicts him. We have no historical evidence on the subject ; but if Demosthenes was the author, why does he not say so here ? And if he was the author himself, what becomes of his argument in 290 ? To the many verse translations which have been already published of this, I venture to add the following paraphrase :

Here lie the dauntless, for their country's right
 Who drew the sword, and crushed the foeman's might.
 Death, in the fray, they set by common claim —
 (Their lives they spared not in the thirst for fame) —
 As umpire of their glory or their shame :
 And this for Hellas' sake ; that never thrall
 Nor curse of bondage on her neck should fall.
 Sore had they toiled : their mother earth hath pressed
 (So heaven decrees) their bodies to her breast.
 Heaven's the unerring aim, th' eternal power :
 For man no respite from his destined hour.

— 14. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\eta\rho\iota\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron$. Literally, *set their weapons to the fight* : a ponderous yet feeble expression : $\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron$ as applied to *arms* being properly to *pile* them, and only bearing the former sense when applied to *troops*, not to weapons. — 15. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu$. Here, with brilliant rhetorical facility, the will is put for the deed. — 16. $\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. I must differ (for once) from Dindorf in the reading of this ill-expressed and confused passage, which no amount of emendation will make even toler-

able. He reads *ἀήματος*; but the MSS. all agree in *δειμάτων*. I think we may interpret it thus: *in the fighting—a game whose stakes are courage and fear* (i. e. display of courage is tantamount to winning the game; display of panic is tantamount to losing the game)—*they spared not their lives; but took Death as their common umpire*. In other words they fought till they lost their lives, and thus appealed to the Lord of the Unseen World to decide whether they had been brave or cowards, winners or losers, in the game of battle. On the construction of *ἀπερὶς* here without *περὶ* or any similar preposition, see *Madv.*, 56, Genitive as Object of the Verb; and 53, Genitive of Reference. *Soph.*, *Trach.*, 1122; *Plat.*, *Rep.*, V., pp. 459, 470. It is quite true that *ἀπερὶς* is meant to be governed by *βραβῆ* also, but not, as some editors contend, by *βραβῆ* only. In translating, however, we cannot avoid taking it exclusively with the latter: we might say in English *they fought for death or victory*, but we really could not say *fought for shame or glory*. Whiston translates thus: *In their contest they did not save their lives, but of timidity and courage they made Hades the impartial umpire*. — 23. *ἔτροπεν*. The subject is clearly *ὁ θεός*, and nothing can be more awkward than the ellipsis. The *δέ* after *μοίρων* is perhaps meant to have the intensive force of *δὴ*. So Dissen takes it. But among the many defects of the poem such a trifle as *δέ* coming the fourth word in the sentence, and yet acting as conjunctive, may surely pass unchallenged. Why this inscription has ever been admired I am quite at a loss to discover: to me it seems a tissue of platitudes very clumsily expressed in language by no means original. And the sentiment is false throughout it. These heroes fell *not* as victors but as vanquished, — they did *not* avert the doom of Hellas, — and their defeat was due *not* to destiny, but to the vacillating policy of the country for which they fought so hard and so well. The orator is probably conscious of this last opening being left for his antagonist, and he tries to close it up accordingly in the next sentence, straining the simple sense of the epitaph to suit his purpose. — 24. *καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτον*, *in this very epitaph also*, as well as from me. — 290. 26. *ἀνέθηκε*, *he attributes*. This use of the aorist is just parallel to the Epistolary imperfect in Latin, the time of action being restricted to the very time of writing, i. e. a past time; whereas our own idiom looks on the thing written, as an agency, on the part of its writer, which is present as well as past. — P. 102, l. 3. *πρέψαν*. Strictly optative: i. e. to express a prayer.

291-300. YOUR UNDISGUISED SYMPATHY WITH OUR ENEMIES BRANDS YOU, ÆSCHINES, AS A TRAITOR. IF IT WAS MY DOING, AS YOU ALLEGE, THAT WE OPPOSED THE DESPOT, I GLORY IN THE DEED. BUT YOU TAUNT ME WITH BEING A PARTISAN OF PHILIP. SURELY IT IS YOU, AND THE LIKE OF YOU IN OTHER STATES, WHO DESERVE THIS IMPUTATION. I AND MY STATE UTTERLY DISCLAIM IT. IN WORD, THOUGHT, AND DEED I HAVE PROVED MYSELF PHILIP'S UNCOMPROMISING FOE. I APPEAL TO FACTS FOR CONFIRMATION.

291. 7. ὥς ἄν. Supply ἔσχε, *would have had*, not, as Schäfer says, ἔχοι. — 9. ἐπάρας, *with his voice raised and in exultation and with a screech*. λαρυγγιῶ τοὺς ῥήτορας (i. e. *screech them down*), Arist., *Eq.*, 358. More literally: *raising his voice and exulting and straining his windpipe*. — 12. τοῖς γεγενημένοις. *In the miseries that had come to pass he had no feeling in common with the rest* (of his fellow-citizens): i. e. he stood alone in his glee, every one else being in despair. This is mere repetition of 244, 217. — 292. 13. καίτοι. *And yet one who professes regard for the laws and constitution, like my opponent at present, should at any rate have this attribute if nothing else, that he sympathizes in sorrow and in joy with the nation, and never in his public policy bands himself with the party of their foes*. τοῖς πολλοῖς is the natural dative following an expression of identity; τετάχθαι as a perfect tense suggests entire and complete partisanship; κοινῶν depends on προαιρέσει, which is a *dativus modi*. — 293. 21. ἐπεὶ. *For if you were to grant me this, that it was through MY influence you were led to oppose that despotism over Hellas which was being organized, you would grant me a greater boon than all which you have given to the rest*. ἐμέ is emphatic both by its form and its place in the sentence; by ἄλλοις are meant any other statesmen who have received public votes of thanks or emoluments. — 294. P. 103, l. 5. φιλιππισμόν. Lord Brougham compares "Jacobinism." We have already had φιλιππισμόντων, 176. — 7. ἐπ' ἀληθείας, 17. *If laying aside falsehood and all malicious speech you ought to inquire on the basis of truth who they are in reality on whose head all would naturally and justly lay the blame of what has happened* — 11. κεφαλῇ, einem etwas auf den Kopf schuld geben (Schäfer). — 295. 17. τῶν ἑαυτῶν. Schäfer explains *belonging to them*, i. e. *of their own faction*: *Dissemen, available, i. e. open to being led away*: Westermann, like Schäfer, *their own severally*, and so Whiston. But the word must surely mean a little more than a mere possessive pronoun. Transl. *who were in their*

hands: i. e. who were subordinate members of the states in which these others were leaders, and who blindly trusted to their leadership. — **διαφθείροντες**. The orator always divides the Greek world into two classes: those who sympathized with his own Athenian policy, and those who did not: to the latter he gives the sweeping designation of traitors. Against this Polybius (XVII., 14) makes a very proper protest: *πικρότατον βουίδος τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰκὴ καὶ ἀκρίτως προσέτριψε*. — 18. **Δάσχος**. Harpocration, under the name *Μύρτις*, mentions a number of these revolutionists, quoting the lost history of Theopompus where further particulars seem to have been given. No historical interest attaches to any of the names: some of them we have had already in 48, 69, 71 cited with the same application. Hipparchus is mentioned by the orator, p. 125. And Demaratus is named by Plutarch (*Alex*, 9) as a friend of Philip, and companion of Alexander in his expedition to the East. Cicero imitates this passage, in his oration against Verres, II., 4. — 296. 27. **ἐπιλείψει** suggests at once the obvious parallel in the Epistle to the Hebrews, xi., 32. — P. 104, l. 4. **ἁλόστορες**. *phavels ἁλόστορ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν*, *Æsch.*, *Pers.*, 354. *τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς ὀρμυὶς ἁλόστορ*, *Id.*, *Ag.*, 1501. The orator speaks of these persons as if they were sent for divine visitations on the sins of their respective states — *national curses*. Whiston renders the three epithets, *foul and fawning and fiend-like*. — 5. **ἡκρωτηριασμένοι**. Perfect middle. *καὶ τῶν νηῶν καπρίους ἔχουσέν τας πῶρας ἡκρωτηρίασαν*. Herod., III., 59. Here exactly *crippled*, as Kennedy translates. — 6. **προπινάκτες**. According to the Scholiast whom Dissem quotes (Pind., *Ol.*, VII., 5), *προπίνειν* strictly is to present the drinking-cup as a gift to your guest at the banquet where he drinks from it. That it means to *pledge a health* (*propinare*) we have abundant evidence in the Lexica. The orator (p. 284) dwells on the fact that Philip *προσέπινεν ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσὰ αὐτοῖς*. And on p. 34 he uses the phrase *προπέπεται τὰ πρόγματα* in a sense exactly the same as here: *toasted away*. So Lord Brougham. — 10. **ἔροι καὶ κανόνες**, *normæ et regulæ: standards and rules*. — **ἀνατετροφότες**. *While they have subverted liberty and independence* (lit. the having no master over themselves). The similarity of form in the perfects of *τρέπω* and *τρέφω* is sufficiently noticed in all grammars and lexica. The later form in each case was *τέτραφα*, and some editions here read *ἀνατετραφότες*. I have followed Dindorf in retaining the omicron. — 297. 14. *εἰ δὲ μὴ λησείν, ἰς ὥς*

must speak in earnest, lit. *not trifle*. — 17. *καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῶν*, and I before you, sc. have been made guiltless (sub. *ἀνατρίος γέγονα*). — *ἀντί*, followed by the genitive of price, *for, in return for*. The answer to this question which follows is greatly admired by Lord Brougham. — 298. 25...27. *οὐδέ...συμβεβούλευκα*, nor in all the advice that I have ever given to my hearers, have I ever, like you (*Æschines* and the other hirelings just mentioned) advised as if I were the tongue of a balance inclining towards lucre. If this reading of Dindorf (*ὥσπερ ἀνὲν τρυτάνῃ*) be correct, the orator compares himself to the tongue of a balance, but disclaims any bias or leaning in one direction, that direction being private advantage. The common reading is *ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυτάνῃ*, with an inclination towards lucre, as if set on the scales [with a bias]. *ρέπων* in either reading would be intransitive, describing the speaker's own bias, not the direction he gives to that of others. The passage in *De Pace*, 12, is an excellent illustration : *ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνῃ ἀργύριον προσενέγκῃς οἴχεται φέρον καὶ καθεῖλκυκε τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ' αὐτὸ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑγιῶς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς λογισαίτο*. — P. 105, l. 1. *ψυχῆς*. Here follow in most editions the words *τὰ πάντα μοι πέπρακται*. They are not found in Σ, and look very like an interpolation. — 299. 5. *μου*. There is not, I think, the emphasis on the pronoun here which Whiston conceives. It would in that case be *ἐμοῦ*. The passage in *Æschines* is p. 87. *εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποίησω, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τεύχη καλῶς ἐτάφρευσε, θανυμάζω σου, κ. τ. λ.* For the agreement of *ἀξία*, see C. 496; Cu. 366; G. 138, N. 2; H. 511. — 6. *πόρρω*, i. e. *far below*. So *πρὶν δικάων*, *Æsch.*, *Eumen.*, 414. — *που* = *perhaps*. See *Lex.* — 7. *οὐ λίθοις*. This is the passage quoted at the beginning of Libanius's Hypothesis. The idea, though not quite original, is clothed in good and bold language by the orator, and comes in as a most effective repartee on his opponent. The well-known ode of Sir W. Jones, "What constitutes a state?" is cited by Whiston in illustration. — 9. *μέγιστον φρονῶ*. *I feel most proud*. The genitive *τῶν ἑμαντοῦ* depends on the superlative: lit. *most of my doings*. Fully expressed the phrase would have run *ὡς μεγίστοις οὖσι τῶν ὑπ' ἑμαντοῦ πεπραγμένων*. But the compression gives it thrice as much force. — 11. *τόπους, κ. τ. λ.* The allusions are clearly, as *Dis-sen* remarks, to Eubœa, Bœotia, Megaris, Coreyra, and Leucadia (see 227–237). These accusatives have all to be understood afterwards as the object of *ἀμυνουμένων*, *τούτων* being the whole body of the

citizens supposed present in their public assembly which the speaker is addressing. — *καὶ πολλοὺς...ἀμυννομένους*, and many to defend them for us. *πολλοὺς*, however, is not in the best MSS. and edd. — 300. 17. *τοῖς λογισμοῖς*, calculations, i. e. tactics. He means that his own political calculations were the best humanly possible; that he cannot admit Philip to have been his superior in political judgment, but only in successful fortune. Observe the emphatic position of *ἐγώ* in contrast with Philip and his tactics. — 18. *στρατηγοί*. Tamen Athenienses post cladem Lysiclem prætorem, accusatore Lycurgo, capitis damnarunt, conf. Diodor., 16, 88. DISSEN. — 19. *δυνάμεις*. The singular is more usual in speaking of military forces. But the plural may be justified here by the fact that several states were combining their respective forces.

301–323. Conclusion: I MYSELF HAVE ALWAYS ACTED AS A TRUE STATESMAN.

301. 23. *οὐκ...προβαλίσθαι*, sc. *χορῆν*: was it not his duty to place Eubœa as a defence before Attica on the side of the sea? — 26. *δύμους*. He means Achæa, Corinth, and Megara. — *σιτοπομπίαν*, 87 sq. As to the construction, Schäfer cites a very happy illustration, p. 1262, l. 16, *οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόμοι καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας προφάσεις ὅπως μὴ μείζους γίγνωνται προείδοντο*. — 27. *φιλίαν*. Supply *γῆν*, according to the very common Attic ellipsis: *πολέμια* is used in exactly the same way. — *παρά* = along. — 302. P. 106, l. 2. *ὑπαρχόντων*, of what we have already, i. e. subject allies: a very similar use of *ὑπάρχειν* to that already noticed in 295. — *ἐκπέμποντα* agrees, of course, with *πολίτην*, which is understood together with *χορῆν* in all these clauses: by sending out succors from time to time; the imperfect participle denoting a continued or customary action. — 3. *Προκόννησον*, in the Propontis, originally a free colony from Miletus; then subjected to Athens; and ultimately to Cyzicus, the modern Marmora. In the speech against Polyces, p. 1207, the orator speaks of Proconnesus as an ally of Athens. The dates of its history are uncertain. — 4. *τὰ δ'*, constructed like *σιτοπομπίαν* above, that is, after *πᾶσαι*, with *τὸ βυζάντιον*, κ. τ. λ., as appositions. — 7. *ὦν*. The genitive of privation depending on *ἐνέλειπε*, which is here impersonal. *ὦν ἐνέλειπε* as opposed to *ὑπαρχουσῶν* represents *ἀ οὐχ ὑπῆρχε*. — 303. 10. *ἀ καὶ*. The *καὶ* = both, emphasizes the connection of plan and execution, for both of which the orator claims equal approval. — 13. *παρεθίνα*, i. e. he disclaims any sin of (1) omission, or of (2) ignorance, or of (3) treach-

ery. — 15. ἦκεν, *were dependent on*, — a favorite Attic use of the verb. ὥστ' εἰς ἐμὴ ἡκεῖ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα. Aristoph., *Plut.*, 919. — 18. ἑλυμαίνετο... ἀνέτρεψαν, *went on (imperf.) damaging our cause till they ruined (aor.) all*. W. Holmes makes τοῖς δλοῖς adverbial. But better dative after ἑλυμαίνετο, which, as Drake with the approval of Whiston observes, here takes the dative because it has the notion of successive attacks *upon or against*. See also Lex., s. v. — 304. 23. ἐμοί. Dative after ταῦτά. Cf. ἄλλοις, 291; πολλοῖς, 292. — 24. ἐκέχρητ' ἄν, *would have experienced*. — 305. P. 107, l. 2. ἐλάττωσι in its position here as a predicate requires us to paraphrase instead of translating: *That ye may know that the words I employ are far less than the deeds I refer to*. Drake well renders ἐλάττωσι, *falling far short of*. — 3. εὐλαβούμενος. Cf. 3, 4. — λέγε. See 28, last note. The words from τὸν ἀριθμὸν to ψηφίσματα are put in brackets by some editors, and have indeed something the air of an interpolation, but Dindorf retains them, and Schäfer defends them. — 306. 7. κατορθουμένων. Here follows ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ in most editions. Dindorf omits the words and they are not in Σ. Render with Whiston: *in the event of the success of which indeed, beyond a doubt, we might have been pre-eminently great*. — μεγίστοις agrees obviously with ἡμῶν, which we supply as the dative depending on ὑπῆρχεν. The use of these imperfects without ἄν in a conditional apodosis of past time has been already noticed, 248. — 9. τὸ δίκαιον. *The attribute of justice would have been ours as well*: i. e. we should have been justly supreme as well as unquestionably. — ὥς ἑτέρος is euphemistic = *quite otherwise*, that is, *adversely*. See note, 212. — 10. περισσῶς, in connection with the rest of this sentence, gives the idea of something saved from a wreck. Whatever we have lost, at any rate we have saved reputation and honor. *And although they have turned out quite otherwise, there remains at any rate a good reputation*. — 307. 12. οὐ μὰ Δι' οὐκ ἀποστάντα, (thus should a patriot act) *and not, no not by any means, deserting the interests of the state and hiring himself to its enemies, cherish the opportunities of the enemy instead of those of his country, and malign the man who has undertaken both to advise and propose courses of action worthy of the state, and who has made it a principle to abide by them*. ὑποστήναι, of putting one's shoulder under the burden, in contrast to ἀποστήναι above; the genitive with ἐπὶ has been discussed in 17. — 18, ἂν δέ, *while if any such person annoy him (τὸν βδσκανον) at all individually, he lays it up in his memory and keeps an eye upon the person*. The δεῖ at the beginning

of the paragraph is carried all through this long sentence, and the οὐδέ following *θεραπεύειν* has to be carried on to *μεμνηῆσθαι* also. — 19. οὐδέ γ', at any rate he ought not to maintain an unrighteous and hollow silence. The epithet *τιπουλος* suggests a festering sore of which, however, the surface is healed and gives no symptom of mischief. So *Æschines*, as the orator alleges, holds his tongue and looks pleasant, although his heart is full of venom. The alleged sins of *Æschines* are threefold in this paragraph: (1) treachery to his own state, (2) malignant envy of her true statesmen and private malice against them, (3) affectation of being perfectly satisfied at the time, and subsequent show of great indignation. The first of these is introduced by οὐ μὰ Δι', the second by οὐδέ, the third by οὐδέ γ'. — 306. 22. ἀπλῶς, *honestly*, as distinct from *τιπουλος*. All this is in answer to *Æschines*, p. 84. — P. 108, l. 1. τοῦ συνεχῶς, *sated of the man whom you hear incessantly*: our idiom requires this amount of paraphrase: he alludes to the fact that the prominent statesman must needs be always making public speeches. — 2. δέσκαλον, *provoking*, euphemistic, like *ἐτέρως*, 306. — 309. 4. ἡσυχίας. Suddenly he comes out as a speaker from his silence, — like a gale after a calm. ἐφάργη is the gnomic aorist. C. 605; Cu. 494; G. 205; H. 707. ἡσυχίας must be taken also in close connection with πνεῦμα, the ἐκ being transitional only, as in τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκένος (Soph., O. T., 454), etc. — 5. πεφωνασκηκός, with well-trained voice and words and phrases collected, 279. — συναλοχέει. στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδην, Arist., Ran., 866; συλλέγων μουσδίας, 874; ἐπύλλια, Ach., 405. — 6. συνείρα, he strings them together with distinct utterance and without drawing breath. — 13. ἐμπορίου, provision for commerce between Athens and any particular foreign city, which would require a commercial treaty, etc. to be arranged. — 15. ἀποδειχθεῖσιν, *declared*, i. e. open and undisguised. — 310. 16. ἐξέτασις, *opening*, lit. a process of examining: hence an open examination, where any competitor may enter and distinguish himself. — 17. ἀποδείξεις, *opportunities*: lit. displays of ability; i. e. occasions on which a man might display it. — 18. οὐδαμοῦ. The metaphor is still from a competitive race. On the auxiliary use of φαίνεσθαι, φανερός εἶναι, δῆλος εἶναι, see Madv., G. S., 177, b; C. 657, k; Cu. 590; H. 797. — 20. ὅποσσοσθὺν, the any-eth whatever. The termination -οστός, commencing with the ordinal twenty, is common to all ordinal numbers above the twentieth. The correlative οὖν corresponds to the Latin -cunque. Donaldson's G. G., 245. Dissen thinks the orator is here alluding to the notorious oracle addressed to

the Megarians: *ὑμεῖς δ' ὃ Μεγαρεῖς οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι οὔτε δω-
δέκατοι οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὐτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ*, Schol., *Theocr.*, XIV., 48. — *ἐπὶ γ'
οἷς*, at any rate not in anything which led to the advancement of your country.
As *οἷς* here is neuter, I take the *οἷς* before *οὐδαμοῦ* to be neuter also
(meaning in which competition), not masculine, as Reiske interprets. —
311. 23. *διακονία* would include home government and policy, while
πρεσβεία would be limited to foreign. — 25. *ξενικῶν*, e. g. Thrace and
the Bosphorus, 244. — 26. *ποῖαι* with its usual sense of sarcasm, as in
each of the questions where it follows. Dinarch., c. *Demosth.*, p. 102,
*ποῖαι γὰρ τριήρεις εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι διὰ τοῦτον, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Εὐβούλου
τῇ πόλει; ἢ ποῖοι νεώσοικοι τοῦτον πολιτευομένον γεγῆνασι; πότε οὗτος
ἢ διὰ ψηφίσματος ἢ νόμου ἐπηνώρθωσε τὸ ἱππικόν; κ. τ. λ.* — 27. *τί
τῶν ἀπάντων*, in what possible department? *πάντων*, 5. — P. 109, l. 1.
εὐπόροις are the *ἡγεμόνας* of 103, as *ἀπόροις* are the *πένησι* of 107. —
2. *πολιτικὴ... χρημάτων*, financial relief for the state and the public. W.
312. 3. *τῶν*, my good friend: the colloquial appellative, which, how-
ever, occurs once in tragedy (*Soph.*, *Philoct.*, 1373). Buttman has
argued with great probability that it is an archaic vocative *τα* of *τυ*
(*σύ*) with *ν* ephelcusticon added. The old derivation made it the
vocative of *εἰης*. — 6. *ἐπεδίδουσαν*. There were special patriotic funds
started directly after Chæroneia, and again to assist Thebes in the
revolt against Alexander. But, indeed, during the whole period
B. C. 338 to 335 there would be constant opportunities for wealthy
persons to show their public spirit in this form. — 7. *ἐπιτιμίαν*, resto-
ration to civil rights, cf. 15. He appears to have been disfranchised by
the imposition of a heavy fine. His friends then subscribed to pay
the fine for him. But he handed over the money so collected to be
used not for his own restoration, but for the expenses of the state.
It is supposed that this Aristonicus is the same mentioned in 83, etc.
— 11. *ἑξαῶν*. A contribution of two talents as a present from the Heads
of the sections, for which consideration you murdered the trierarchic law.
The word *ἑξαῶν* only implies that the sum was raised by joint sub-
scription among the *ἡγεμόνες* (103) as a retaining fee to Æschines for
taking up the case in support of their vested interests. How far he
succeeded in the "slaughter of the innocent," and when, we have no
historical information. Others render *ἐφ' οἷς*, for the damage which you
did, taking *οἷς* as the (cognate) object of the verb, attracted into the
dative by the preposition. Either translation is possible and makes
equally good sense. Compare Whiston in loc. and Grote, XI., 645.

— 313. 14. ἐκποῦσα, *put myself off*, lit. *adjourn myself*, ἐκποῦσας εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, p. 385 (fin.). Dissen wrongly quotes ἐξέκρουόν με, p. 348, where it means they *hissed me off* (*explodere*). The orator means here that if he goes into every detail one after another, he will lose the time for arguing his present and immediate point. Render: *that I may not by speaking of one thing after another cut myself off from the matter in hand*. — 16. φυλάττων is opposed to δι' ἐνδειαν: *it was not for want of means that you did not contribute, but from your care that no act of yours should be opposed to those for whom you manage everything in your public life*. — 17. τοῖσις οἷς. Masculine: i. e. Macedon and the Macedonian party, οἷς being the dative of relation in the category *commodi*. — 18. νεανίας, *vigorous*. Youth as the type of (1) *vigor* or (2) *violence* appears in the uses of *neanias* and all its derivatives, as the Lexica abundantly testify. The context will always show whether the good or bad sense predominates. Cf. p. 37, l. 10; p. 557, l. 25; Aristot., *Eth.*, I., 1 (fin.), etc. — 19. λαμπρός, *brilliant*, a favorite combination with νεανικόν, as in the passages above cited. — ἥνικ'... δέη, *whenever you must needs speak against the people here*. — 21. Θεοκρίνης. Harpocration informs us that this person was a συκοφάντης, as indeed the speech [Demosth.] c. *Theocr.*, would lead us to infer. There is no other interpretation of the sarcasm than Dissen's, viz., that Theocrines, like Æschines, affected to deplore the fate of those who fell victims to his intrigues (cf. Æsch., 72, 76). — 314. 25. προλαβόντα, *having drawn upon the good-will which subsists on your part towards the dead* (the good feeling which you cherish to the memory of the departed), *to examine me and compare me with them, — me who am still alive among you*. Æschines had done this in his peroration, p. 79, alluding to Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides. The orator justly protests against any comparisons of "virtus incolumis" with "virtus sublata ex oculis." The language (εὐνοίαν, κ. τ. λ.) is closely parallel to that of l. — 315. P. 110, l. 2. φθόνος. Cf. Thucyd., II., 45, φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνταγωνίστῃ εὐνοία τετιμῆται. The sentiment is too notorious to need further illustration. — 4. κρίνωμαι. *Am I to be put on trial and examined?* The subjunctive in questions paves the way for the imperative in answers. For examples, cf. Madv., *G. S.*, 121. The sense of θεωρῶμαι is made plain by ἐξετάζω in 314. — 6. ἄλλον. *Any one else you please of those whose policy is identical with yours, and who are now alive*. The orator only challenges comparison of merit with

the living, not with the dead; and only with the opposition party, not with those whose policy had been his own. — 316. 9. *ὑπερμεγέθεις*, which are colossal—nay more; one could not express their magnitude. A good example of *μὲν οὖν* in its corrective force, which is quite as common in prose as in poetry. Plat., *Gorg.*, 466, etc. — 12. *ἀγαν*, to expose to thanklessness and insult such services as are being done for the present period. The sense of *ἀγαν* suggests a speaker dragging something out of its existing position into another to which it does not belong. — 317. 14. *ἀρα*, as it seems, i. e. judging by my opponent's argument. — 18. *κατ' ἐκείνους*, all through their time (17, note, *κατ' ἐκείνους*) as *ἐπ' ἐκείνων* would mean simply in their time. In some texts *τοὺς χρόνους* is added here, but it is not found in Σ, and I follow Dindorf in excluding it. — 19. *διέτυπον*, 27, 218, 323. — 318. 23. *ἰδελφός*. Philochares, one of the ten *στρατηγοί*, reappointed three successive years (*Æschin.*, p. 48). He had also a younger brother, Aphobetus, who served in distinguished civil capacities. But the former is probably alluded to here. — 26. *τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν*, and with those of his own age. — 319. P. 111, l. 1. *Φιλάμμων*. Mentioned by Harpocration as a distinguished boxer and athlete. Cf. *Aristot., Rhet.*, III., 11; *Eustath., on Hom. Il. ψ.*, 686. — *Γλαύκου*. Mentioned as having won the prize for boxing in the twenty-fifth Olympiad. Cf. *Pausan.*, VI., 10; *Lucian, de Imagin.*, c. 19. *Æschines* (p. 81) replies to the orator's argument here, having obviously inserted the reply for the first time in this published oration, though he so phrases it that it might seem a part of the original speech; but the coincidence is a little too remarkable. — 6. *ἴσα*. Cf. 315 (end). — 7. *οὐδένα*. *I shrink from none*, i. e. I will stand side by side with any, to be looked at and compared. Of this accusative, *Madvig (G. S., 23, a)* states the principle thus: "Many intransitive verbs, which denote a motion, on composition with a preposition, assume a transitive signification"; e. g. *μετέρχομαι*, *περισταμαι*, *ὑφίσταμαι*, *ὑποδύομαι*. But we see that *ἐξίσταμαι* also retains its force as an intransitive verb, for it is constructed quite as often with a dative of reference. *Soph., Aj.*, 673, is an example of the latter; and *ib.*, 82, is an example of the former. In translating any verb of this twofold construction, we must be careful to observe the context and to modify the English accordingly. If the reading *οὐδενί*, which many MSS. give here, were taken for our text, we should translate: *I yield to none*, i. e. consider myself the equal of any. Cf. p. 460, l. 2; p. 617, l. 15, etc. —

320. 8. *ἐν* = *of whom*, part. gen. after *ἐγὼ κράτιστα*. — *ἰσημερινῶν*. *Open* (for competition). This use of the adjective is peculiar to the orator: so p. 488, 13. The more usual sense is *equal*, *a match*. — 13. *μήποτε*. We supply *συμβαίνειν*. The euphemism is too common to need illustration. — 17. *ἔργον*, sc. *φιλιππον*. — *ἐξέτασις*. Ironical; he draws a picture of the Macedonian party at Athens, looking out for leaders and members; they would hold, he suggests, an *inspection* of the public men, to pick out not the best advisers for state, but the most venal and treacherous and ready supporters of Philip. Cf. 310, *ἐξέτασις*. — 18. *ἐν τάξει*. *At your post*, i. e. you were exactly the sort of people whom this inspection would cause to be selected for office. — 19. *ἰσημερινός*. Schäfer and Disson agree in understanding this to be typical of luxurious and wealthy position, comparing p. 1046, l. 8; Xen., *Æc.*, 2. 6, etc. In Attica, as in Palestine, *keeping horses* was a sign of wealth and luxury. Isocr., 16. 33. Reiske and others understand it of volunteer cavalry, but with no authority to support their view; which, however, if supported, would give by far the best force to the passage. We may paraphrase, *a great man, and famous for his stud*. — 321. 21. *μέτριον* = *respectable, fair*. Cf. note 10, where it is used in the same way as here, with the same reason for choosing the word, viz. to avoid envy and odium. *φύσει*, as we see from the use of *φύσις* just below, means *according to the measure of human capacity*, as opposed to the superhuman and the supernatural; that which is within the compass of human attainment or control in distinction from that which is controlled by fortune or providence. *τὸν φύσει μέτριον*, therefore, means *the reasonably good citizen*, or, as Lord Brougham renders, *the citizen of ordinary worth*. This seems to accord better with the signification of the words and the demands of the context, than *the well-disposed citizen*, which is the reading of Kennedy and Whiston, but which is too nearly identical with *εὐνοία*, one of the things that the citizen must possess. — 23. *ἐξουσία*. *When in power*: as we should say, *when a member of the government*. Cf. Aristot., *Eth.*, II., 3, for an instance of this sense of *ἐξουσία*. I quite agree with Whiston in declining Disson's translation, *opportuna momenta*. — 25. *εὐνοίαν*. *Good feeling* towards the state here, as in 1. It would correspond to our *patriotism*. He means that, whereas political disasters and misfortunes may destroy a statesman's policy, nothing should ever destroy, or even impair, his devotion to his country: *for*, he argues, *this is in nature's control*, i. e. the man's own spirit is respon-

sible for keeping him a true patriot ; *while power and strength are in other hands*, i. e. depend on fortune and chance. — 322. P. 112, l. 1. **ἐξαιτούμενος**. Alluding again to the demand made by Alexander for the surrender of Demosthenes and the other leading orators in 335. Plut., *Vit. Demosth.*, c. 24. — 2. **ἐπαγόντων**, sc. τῶν φιλικ-
πιστῶν. Æschines mentions (p. 76) that an attempt was made to arraign Demosthenes before the Amphictyonic Council, apparently on the ground of his having deserted from an embassy. The passage runs thus : ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον πρεσβευτῆς ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθεὶς ἀποδρὰς ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Κιθαιρώνας ἤκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὐτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὐτ' ἐν πολέμῳ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχων· καὶ τὸ πάντων δευνό-
τατον ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προῦδοτε, οὐδ' εἰσάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων συνεδρίῳ. The embassy in question was charged to convey the apologies of Athens to Alexander for the attempted revolt in 336. Demosthenes may have known that his presence would be specially obnoxious to Alexander, and also may have had fears for his own personal safety. But whatever the motive of his desertion, that could not have been made a charge before the court of Amphictyons (see Smith, *Dic. Ant.*), who would have no jurisdiction in the matter. Dissen suggests that the charge was against the orator as having been the open antagonist of Philip when the latter was acting as Amphictyonic general. No better explanation has been suggested. — 2. **ἐπαγγελλομένων**, *when they kept making offers*, i. e. offers of bribes on the part of Macedon. — 4. **προσβαλλόντων**, *when they set these accursed wretches at me like savage beasts*. With this use of προσβάλλειν we may compare its common signification in the middle voice to *make an attack on*. — 5. **ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν** has the predicative force, hence the article with ὁδόν. Render with Whiston : *for from the very first, straightforward and honest was the course of policy which I chose*. — 8. **μετὰ τούτων εἶναι**, *to be on their side*, sc. of the honor and glory of my country. So Bremi, and this gives the proper force of μετὰ better than the more common rendering : *in these to have my being*. — 323. 9. **ἐτέρων**, *the other side*, sc. the Macedonians. — 11. **ἐκείσε**, to Macedon. — 15. **ὥσπερ**. *Who vilify the state as though, forsooth, they were not thereby vilifying themselves* (as responsible for the state policy) *while they turn their eye abroad* (in admiration), *and where another has triumphed by the ruin of the Greeks, they glorify this, and protest that it must be so maintained forever*. Their sympathies are entirely with Macedon and against Athens : they despise and abuse the latter, they admire and glorify the former.

324. Peroration. HEAVEN CHANGE THEIR HEARTS, OR HASTEN THEIR DOOM, OUR ONLY CHANCE OF SALVATION !

20. μή ἔσθ' . *Never, I implore you, ye powers of heaven, never bestow your sanction on that ! But, if it may be, inspire even them with a better mind and heart ! Or if, as they seem, they are past repentance, give THEM — and them alone — to utter and speedy ruin by land and sea : and to us the rest, grant ye the quickest relief from our imminent terrors, — yea, a salvation that knows no fall.* The force of this would be a good deal destroyed in English if we took literally the *μηδεὶς* with which it commences, — *let no one of you*, i. e. no deity either lower or higher. The sense of *προ* in *προώλεῖς* implies *before they have finished our ruin* ; their doom must be speedy or else our salvation will be past praying for. The commentators all admire the rhetoric of this passage, and confess their inability to preserve either the music or the full meaning of the language in a translation. It is often compared with the conclusion of Cicero's first Philippic.

THE END.

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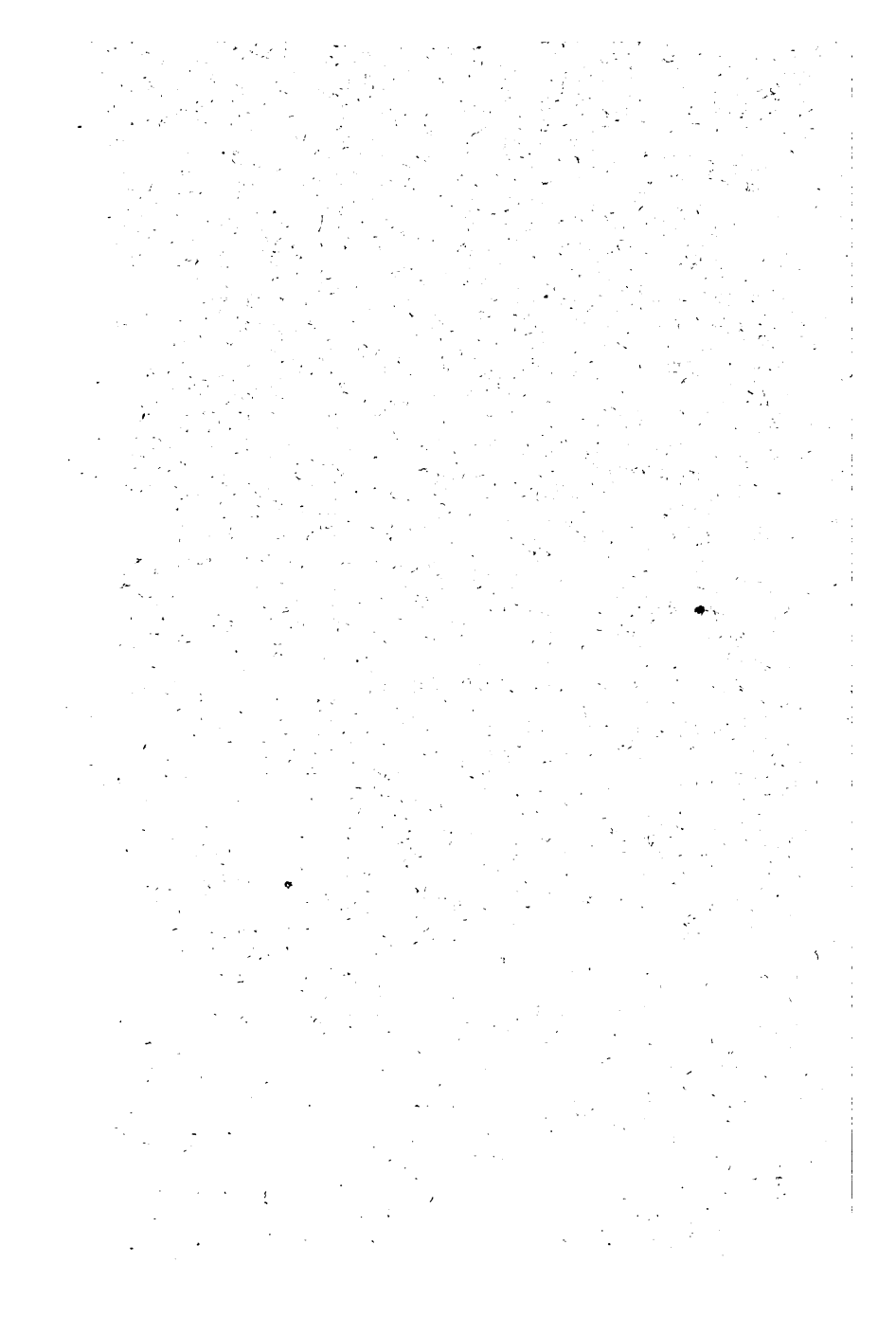
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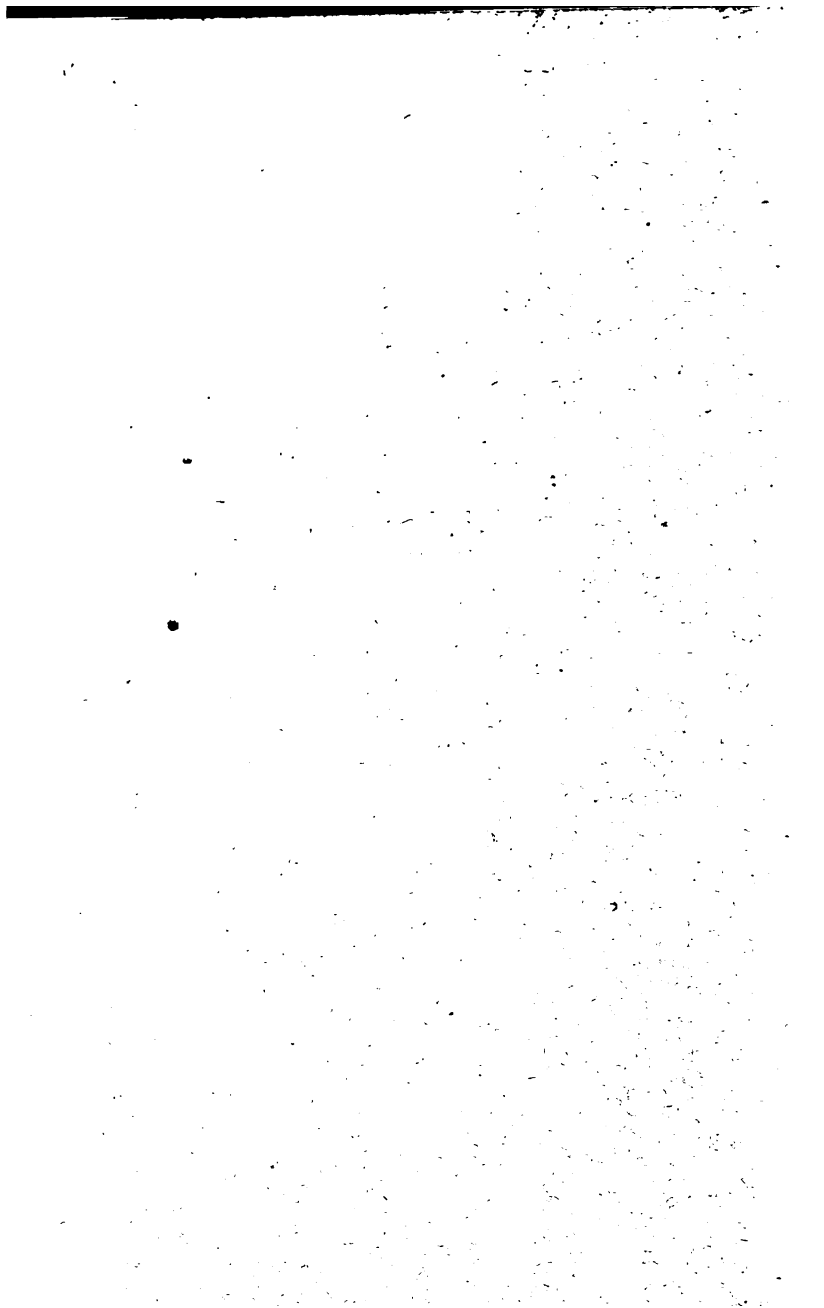
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